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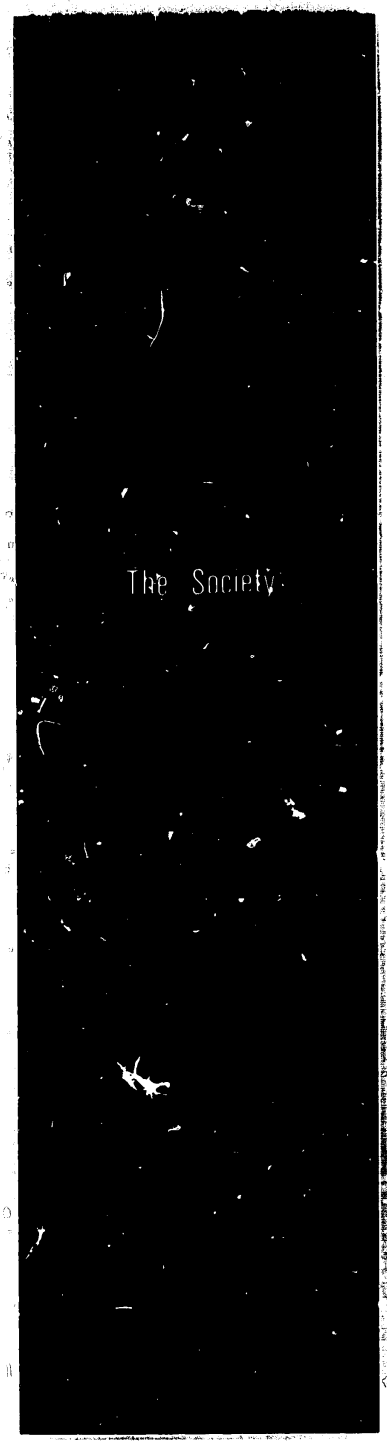

Malagasy Republic

August 1973

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY

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NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY PUBLICATIONS

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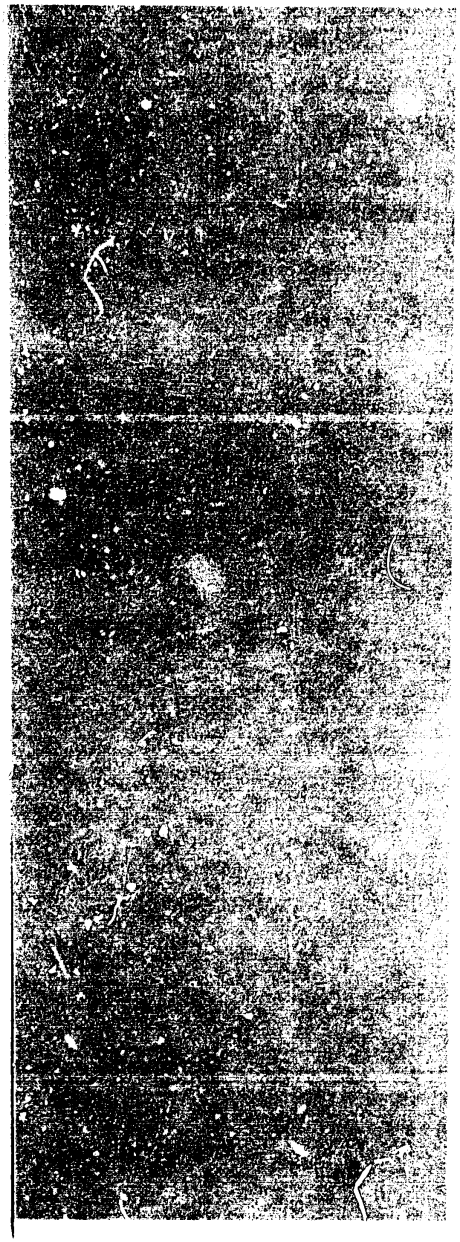

Malagasy Republic

CONTENTS

This chapter supersedes the sociological coverage in the General Survey dated August 1968.

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FIGURES

The Society

A. Introduction

The society of Madagascar (Malagasy Republic) has an unusual ethnic base, being composed primarily of peoples who combine Malayo-Polynesian and Negroid bloodlines. Much of the population is bound together by various unifying forces, not the least of which is religion. The indigenous religion, which focuses on ancestor worship, is still strongly entrenched among the people as a whole, influencing behavior and constituting a restrictive social influence since it inhibits change. The cohesive forces notwithstanding, Malagasy society is marked by a serious dichotomy between the country's two major social elements: the important Merina tribe, whose homeland is the central plateau, and the *cotiers*, or coastal people, who constitute the majority of the population and who have long resented the domination and the superior attitude of the wealthier and better educated Merina. The 65-year period of French colonial rule (1895-1960) did nothing to diminish the advantaged position of the Merina, who had ruled most of the Malagasy tribes from the 18th century until the French conquered the island.

Most of the Malagasy people live in rural areas, using primitive methods to produce the bare essentials for subsistence. The country has few natural resources, and the small modern sector is heavily dependent on France for financial aid and technical expertise. Although many of the republic's links with the former mother country are economic, there continues to be a strong cultural relationship as well. A number of Malagasy leaders have graduated from French universities and maintain close personal ties with French citizens. Most importantly, French influences, including that of language, still pervade the educational system. In the years since independence there has been a gradual buildup of sentiment favoring "Malagasization." This sentiment has been particularly strong among the intellectuals, most of whom are Merina; disturbances spearheaded by Merina students dissatisfied with government progress in this regard succeeded in toppling the *cotier*-led administration in May 1972. Later in the year, a reaction from *cotier* students against what they felt to be excessive haste in Malagasizing the educational system—to the advantage of the Merina—provoked serious riots in Tamatave Province.

The new Merina-dominated administration of General Ramanantsoa is now attempting to steer a middle course in the hope of alleviating, or at least not intensifying, the longstanding animosity between the Merina and the coastal tribes. A major deterrent to national unity, the tribal cleavage also impedes government attempts to modernize the society, an effort which in any case is made difficult by the ingrained reluctance of most of the people to accept significant social change.

B. Structure and characteristics of society

The people of the Malagasy Republic have a considerable degree of homogeneity in terms of cultural heritage and language, despite the sharp division between the Merina who inhabit the central plateau region, which is the heartland of the country, and the *cotiers* who make up most of the remainder of the population. Known collectively as Malagasy, the native tribes share a unique ancestry, combining Malayo-Polynesian, Negroid, and, in smaller measure, Caucasoid strains. The exact time and pattern of migration to the island are obscure, but there is sufficient evidence to indicate that the first migrants arrived from the Malay Archipelago possibly as early as the beginning of the Christian era. Thereafter the influx continued intermittently, with most groups remaining for a period in India, southern Arabia, or east Africa and often intermarrying with the local people before they or their descendants proceeded to Madagascar. Other settlers eventually included Arabs and Bantu Negroes, many of the latter being imported from east Africa as slaves.

Almost 99% of the population belongs to one or another of the Malagasy tribes, groupings which generally relate to geographical regions or to historical

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kingdoms. The number of identifiable tribes is usually placed at 18, but the exact number cannot be definitely established, and the distinction between tribes and subtribes is often blurred. No precise statistics are available on the size of the various groups, as there has never been a national census. The Merina are the most numerous, estimated to comprise slightly more than one-quarter of the total tribal population. Next in size are the Betsimisaraka, who make up about 15%, followed by the Betsileo, who account for approximately 12%. Only a few of the other tribes—the Tsimihety, the Sakalava, the Antaisaka, and the Antandroy—represent more than 5% of the total. The Betsileo share the central plateau with the Merina, with whom they have some ethnic kinship; other groups are distributed unevenly throughout the island, the largest concentrations being in the coastal lowlands (Figure 1).

Nontribal elements of the native population consist mainly of descendants of early French colonizers and Malagasy peoples inhabiting the small island of Ile Sainte-Marie[1] which lies just off the northeast coast of Madagascar. Alien minorities include immigrants of Negro and Arab origin from the nearby Comoro Islands; a declining French community which still exerts considerable influence in the affairs of the country; Indians and Chinese engaged in commercial pursuits; and small groups of Arabs, Greeks, Portuguese, British, and Americans. Most of the foreigners reside in urban areas.

The Merina, of predominantly Malayo-Polynesian origin, formed a united kingdom and became rulers of the island in the latter part of the 18th century, achieving nearly total control through a series of successful assaults on other tribes. Merina rule lasted until the French conquered Madagascar in 1895, and even under the French they were able to maintain much of their power and privileged status, having acquired wealth and experience, as well as considerable educational advantage as a result of the efforts of British Protestant missionaries who were active among them from about 1820 onward. Although political power finally shifted to the *cotier* majority with the coming of independence in 1960, the relatively fair-skinned Merina continued to regard themselves as innately superior to the darker, less educated *cotiers*. Moreover, the government is once again becoming Merina dominated.

Primarily Christians, the Merina are concentrated largely in the highland province of Tananarive (Figure 2), which contains the similarly named capital city, but a considerable number are also found in other parts of the island. Energetic and industrious, rural Merina are competent rice farmers. The Merina elite in the cities supply a majority of the Republic's administrators and intellectuals, including most members of the Malagasy diplomatic service and most officers in the armed forces. Educated Merina have assimilated much of the French culture while at the same time managing to retain their own cultural identity.

The Betsimisaraka tribe derives from a confederation of groups formed in the 17th century. They are

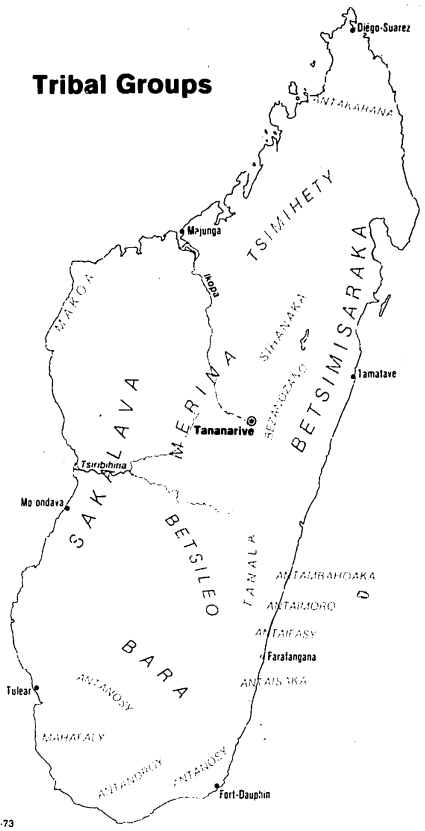

FIGURE 1. Geographic distribution of tribal groups

[1]For diacritics on place names see the list of names on the apron of the Summary Map in the Country Profile chapter, the map itself, and maps in the text.

FIGURE 2. Estimated provincial population, by tribal group, 1 January 1970
(Percent)

TRIBAL GROUP	TOTAL	PROVINCE					
		Diego-Suarez	Fianarantsoa	Majunga	Tamatave	Tananarive	Tulear
Merina	26.5	3.4	3.3	8.4	6.7	34.8	1.8
Betsimisaraka	15.2	22.8	7.3	2.8	69.9	0.4	0.1
Betsileo	12.2	2.4	38.1	8.6	0.8	3.1	4.9
Tsimihety	7.3	28.7	Insig	40.3	1.7	0.1	Insig
Sakalava	6.0	13.8	Insig	16.8	0.1	0.2	18.5
Antaisaka	5.9	5.4	16.2	4.7	0.8	0.1	4.9
Antandroy	5.4	3.6	6.4	1.9	0.7	0.6	80.0
Tanala	3.9	0.8	14.1	1.2	Insig	0.1	1.2
Antaimoro	3.5	4.3	10.8	2.2	1.0	0.1	0.4
Bara	3.4	0.7	4.5	1.6	0.1	0.3	12.9
Sihanaka	2.5	0.4	Insig	3.8	12.5	0.1	0.1
Antanosy	2.4	0.8	0.2	0.4	0.2	Insig	14.2
Mahafaly	1.7	0.6	Insig	0.4	0.1	Insig	10.0
Antaifasy	1.2	0.9	3.9	0.5	0.3	Insig	0.5
Makoa	1.1	3.7	Insig	6.0	0.2	Insig	0.5
Bezanozano	0.8	0.1	Insig	0.3	4.4	0.1	Insig
Antakarana	0.6	7.4	Insig	0.1	Insig	Insig	Insig
Antambahoaka	0.4	0.2	1.2	Insig	0.5	Insig	Insig
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

spread out along the east coast over roughly half the length of the island and are dominant in the important port city of Tamatave, where they have long had contact with foreigners. In general, the Betsimisaraka are well integrated into the modern economy as a result of their cultivation of commercial crops such as coffee, cloves, and vanilla. They are a peace-loving, hospitable people who are fond of music and excel at dancing.

The Betsileo inhabit the central plateau south of the Merina and like the latter are good rice farmers; they are also skilled craftsmen. Historically, they were less competent as warriors and administrators and therefore accepted Merina rule without serious resistance, reportedly receiving favored treatment from the conquerors because they were considered to be distantly related. The Betsileo have assimilated many Merina customs.

North of the central highlands are the Tsimihety, an ethnically heterogeneous group who constitute one of the most robust and prolific elements of the Malagasy population. Chiefly rice farmers and cattle herders, they are a mobile, hard-working, independent people, proud of having successfully resisted Merina conquest. The Tsimihety are believed to be descended from various Malagasy peoples who interbred with Arab traders and African slaves as well as with European pirates who frequented the island in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Inhabiting areas throughout the western coastal plain, the Sakalava comprise a confederation of subtribes or clans, the best known of which are the Vezo, who fish along the coast near Tulear, and the Masikoro, who farm in the hinterland. Most of the other Sakalava are herders who disdain farm labor. The tribe was long thought to be headed for extinction because of disease and widespread alcoholism, but this trend apparently has been reversed, as its numbers have increased in recent years. The Sakalava are not an aggressive people, and they continue to lose their more fertile lands to enterprising migrants.

The Antaisaka of the southeast coast, although of diverse origins, are a cohesive group noted for their insistence on conformity to custom, particularly as it relates to indigenous religious practices. Partly to escape from the tribe's oppressive rigidity, many young Antaisaka men leave the home area to become either permanent or seasonal laborers on the plantations of the north and west.

To an even greater extent than the Antaisaka, the Antandroy leave their arid home area in the extreme south to engage in seasonal work elsewhere. They have, in fact, become the country's chief source of migrant farm labor. For those who remain at home, cattle raising is the principal economic activity. Traditionally, cattle has been the most prized possession and the prime symbol of status among the

members of this group. In the past it was the custom for Antandroy males to prove their manliness before marriage by stealing cattle.

Seven of the smaller tribal groups are concentrated in the south central and southeastern regions of the island. Listed in order of size, these are the Tanala, the Antaimoro, the Bara, the Antanosy, the Mahafaly, the Antaifasy, and the Antambahoaka (Figure 1). The Tanala are a forest people, primarily hunters and woodsmen, but they also engage in some farming. While unable to withstand either the Merina or the French conquerors, they rebelled against both from time to time. Active against the French in the 1947 revolt, they suffered heavy losses from which they have not recovered. The Antaimoro, coastal coffeegrowers, claim descent from Arab traders, and they do in fact exhibit strong Arabic influences which set them apart from most other Malagasy tribes. Islamic beliefs and customs are widely observed among them. The Bara are seminomadic herders who disparage farming. Like the Antandroy, they place great value on their herds and frequently steal cattle from one another. A high rate of natural increase within the tribe has forced many Bara to leave the home area for other parts of the island. The Antanosy, although decidedly Negroid in appearance, consider themselves to be of Arabic origin and follow Islamic practices. Predominantly rice farmers, they also engage in cattle raising and fishing, and Anatanosy men are reported to be good blacksmiths and carpenters. The Mahafaly are essentially a pastoral people, noted for their unusual funerary monuments. Until conquered by the French, this tribal group had successfully resisted most outside influences and had retained its own distinctive political and cultural traditions. Adjacent to the Antaimoro on the southeast coast are the smaller Antaifasy and Antambahoaka groups. The Antaifasy are a hard-working, docile people who have a reputation for cooperating closely with the central government. The Antambahoaka tribe is still another group claiming Arab antecedents; however, they are not Muslim.

The four remaining identifiable tribes are the Sihanaka, who inhabit an area northeast of the Merina; the neighboring Bezanozano to the southeast; the Makoa on the northwest coast; and the Antakarana in the far north. Dwelling in the region of Lac Alaotra, the country's largest body of fresh water, the Sihanaka have the benefit of rich agricultural lands. An industrious people who pursue farming, herding, and fishing, they have made their homeland into one of the most productive areas of the island. The Bezanozano consist of numerous small clans, once grouped into kingdoms. Living mainly by hunting and fishing, they have little tribal organization today. The Makoa are considered to be the most Negroid of all the tribal groups, consisting primarily of descendants of African slaves brought to Madagascar in the 19th century. Although a few have intermarried with other Malagasy peoples, the Makoa as a whole tend to remain aloof in the small coastal sector which is their home. The Antakarana comprise a strongly Islamized group which is believed to have emerged through the intermarriage of Arab traders with members of northeastern coastal tribes.

Because of their varied ethnic heritage and the resultant racial mixtures, the Malagasy people encompass an interesting variety of physical types ranging from the largely Malayo-Polynesian Merina elite to the almost totally Negroid Makoa. The degree of racial intermixture differs from one tribe to another and even within a given tribe, and lightness of coloration—attributable to a greater infusion of Malayo-Polynesian or Caucasoid blood—is one of the primary measures of social status. A wide range of clothing styles also is characteristic of the society. The Merina, particularly those in urban areas, wear Western clothes, or a combination of Western and traditional dress. At the other extreme are the Mahafaly, who wear few garments of any kind. Representative Malagasy types are shown in Figure 3.

All of the tribal groups speak essentially the same language, Malagasy, although several mutually intelligible dialects are used throughout the island. Malagasy is basically an Austronesian language with an admixture of Arabic, Bantu, and Sanskrit words, along with some derived from French and English. It is related to other Austronesian languages, particularly Tagalog and the languages of Indonesia. Early in the 19th century, Christian missionaries and a French adviser to the Merina monarchy succeeded in applying the Roman alphabet to the Merina dialect of Malagasy, thus making it a written tongue, and it thereupon became the national language. The republic has two official languages, Malagasy and French. Employed in government and commerce, as well as in the higher levels of the educational system, French is the language of the country's intellectuals.

Late in 1972, language became an issue in serious disturbances over a government plan to give education a more "national" character. Rioting *cotier* students accused the Merina of trying to impose their version of Malagasy upon the population at the expense of coastal dialects, specifically that used in Tamatave. In December 1972, General Ramanantsoa declared that the official Malagasy language should be enriched by

the vocabularies of all dialects, and he announced the creation of a National Commission on Language and Civilization to carry out this task.

Historically, most of the Malagasy tribes had a hierarchical structure. At the apex was a small group of "nobles" who constituted the dominant element and from whom a king or other tribal leader was chosen; below the nobles were the free commoners, and at the bottom were the slaves, comprising prisoners of war, social misfits, and black Africans purchased from traders. Among the Merina during the days of its monarchy, these three castes were known respectively as the *andriana*, the *hova*, and the *andevo*. The free commoners were the principal landowners of the island, but both they and the nobles depended largely on slaves to do the agricultural labor. When slavery was officially abolished in 1896, the formerly enslaved peoples had no resources with which to establish their own farms, and many became sharecroppers for their former masters. Meanwhile, the Merina monarchy was dissolved by the French, and the power of the nobles throughout the island diminished sharply as they began giving way to a new national elite composed of well-to-do businessmen, civil servants, and professionals, mainly members of the socially dominant Merina group.

The most important aspect of the Malagasy social structure today is the cleavage between the Merina and the *cotiers*. Although this is often expressed in racial terms, with the lighter skinned Merina claiming a greater infusion of Malayo-Polynesian blood, it is strongly reinforced by other factors stemming from historic social and economic disparities. Educational differences, arising from the earlier acquisition of modern schooling by the Merina, significantly widened the gap between the two groups, and religious differences developed as Protestant missionaries throughout the 19th century built their following among the Merina while Roman Catholic missionaries at a later period proselytized among the *cotiers*. Merina exposure to modern education and Western commercial practices, coupled with their traditional social and political dominance, gave them a considerable advantage over the *cotiers* in the economic sphere. During their century of rule over the island, the Merina exacted tribute and taxes from the subjugated *cotiers*.

When the French took over the island, they made an ineffective attempt to decentralize the economy and foster the development of the coastal peoples, but limited fiscal and administrative resources soon persuaded them to be content with the existing disparate economic base. Tananarive, in the heartland of Merina territory, became the commercial as well as the political and administrative center of the colony. Aided by the presence of a large market for consumer goods and of the necessary physical and social substructure, the economy of Tananarive Province developed far faster than that of the coastal areas. By the end of the French colonial period, therefore, the economic inequity between the Merina and the *cotiers* had been accentuated rather than alleviated. Moreover, although the French established a public school system which favored the *cotiers*, the Merina headstart in education has not been overcome.

At the tribal level, the basic unit of social organization is the extended family. Beyond the family, typically, is the lineage or clan, a group of families tracing their relationship to each other through several generations. The most important bond linking the lineage families is the treasured right to be buried in the ancestral tomb. Endogamy prevails among all tribes except the Antaisaka, the Bara, and the Betsileo. In rural areas, where most of the people live, residence is generally patrilocal; in a few tribes, however, patrilocal residence is limited to the eldest son, who will ultimately become the family head. Polygyny was once prevalent among the Malagasy tribes, and although now illegal it is still practiced in some areas. Where polygyny exists, the family head maintains a separate dwelling for each wife and her offspring, but the first wife enjoys favored status.

In many of the non-Christian tribal groups, sexual freedom before marriage is condoned, and a period of trial cohabitation is customary before a marital union is made permanent. A bride-price of some kind appears to be universal, but the value is often nominal. The Malagasy people place great emphasis on having offspring. Large families are the norm, and childless couples or those with small families frequently adopt children. Sons are more prized than daughters, being regarded as future heads of families and therefore as links in the ancestral chain. The eldest male is the primary authority in the family, making the important decisions and claiming respect and obedience from all family members.

In most tribes, and particularly among the Merina, women enjoy a higher status than is common on the African mainland. Nevertheless, they continue to be looked upon as distinctly inferior to men and are disadvantaged in many ways. For example, until recently women were not allowed to initiate divorce proceedings, and while they may do so today, a divorced wife is entitled to receive only one-third of the goods accumulated during the marriage, while the husband acquires two-thirds. In rural areas, the

traditional division of labor between the sexes requires women to engage in the cultivation and processing of agricultural products—mainly rice—in addition to household duties and the rearing of children; the plowing and irrigation of ricefields is viewed as men's work, as is herding. Among the less developed tribes it is considered demeaning for a man to carry a burden if there is a woman available to do it; a man will neither fetch water nor tend a fire, these being regarded as women's tasks. Because the status of women is highes among the educated element of the population, Merina women, generally speaking, are in a much more favorable position than those of other tribes.

Age-old and deeply entrenched custom demands that children show reverence for their parents and other older relatives. The young traditionally have had the responsibility of caring for parents should the latter survive beyond middle age and, moreover, have been obligated to provide costly funerals for them when they die, as well as subsequent ceremonial disinterments and reinterments. This obligation, closely related to the ancestor worship on which the indigenous religion is centered, often represents a serious economic burden leading to long periods of debt. Most of the Republic's young people are still bound to the family- and lineage-oriented environment, where individual roles are determined largely by custom and tradition, but a growing number are obtaining some modern schooling and are leaving the home village to seek work in urban areas. Although many such youth maintain family ties through periodic visits home, kinship bonds and parental authority are usually weakened as new urban associations are formed and modern influences are absorbed.

Values are rooted in the indigenous religion. Traditionally, the Malagasy tribesman has wanted to live as his ancestors did, avoiding new experiences and passively accepting his lot. This common regard for the sanctity of custom and concomitant resistance to change are not merely devices to disguise indolence; respect for custom is universally felt to be an essential safeguard against evil and misfortune. To the average Malagasy it is in the highest tradition to propitiate the spirits of his ancestors by carefully following their example. Thus, as in the case of his forefathers, his wants are few and easily satisfied—enough land to grow rice for the family's sustenance and to house the family tomb, and a few head of cattle for status and sacrificial use. A little extra work is regarded as justified at times in order to purchase a special item, but for the most part the typical Malagasy sees little reason to exert himself. Christian teachings and

FIGURE 3. Representative Malagasy

Mahafaly woman

Mahafaly youth

Antandroy girls

Sakalava elder

Bara man

Merina man

Betsileo woman

Upper class Merina women

Antaifasy man

Western-type education have undeniably altered the values of a minority of the Malagasy, particularly those who comprise the upper class, but the basic values of most of the island's people have been affected little if at all.

However, French rule, lasting from 1895 to 1960, can be said to have had a definite impact on the society as a whole, viewed in terms of civil administration, economic institutions, and the educational system. So widespread has been the French influence in these spheres that it persists vigorously in the second decade of independence, resulting in a growing Francophobia among the educated Merina, who have never forgiven the French for abolishing their monarchy and for favoring the *cotiers* during the colonial period. The Merina have been particularly discontented with the French-oriented educational system. This dissatisfaction was one of the causes of a series of disturbances, brought on by striking students in Tananarive in May 1972, which led to the downfall of the government of Philibert Tsiranana, a *cotier* who had served as President since the achievement of independence. His Merina successor, Gen. Gabriel Ramanantsoa, acutely aware of *cotier* resentment against the former Merina overlords, appointed members of both groups to his cabinet. The better qualified Merina once again dominate almost all of the key ministries, however, and Ramanantsoa's close personal advisers are Merina.

Tensions between the two rival groups heightened late in 1972 and early in 1973 as a result of efforts to reform the educational system. *Cotier* students believe the reforms, designed to reduce French influence in the system, are working to the benefit of the Merina. They especially resent efforts to increase the use of the essentially Merina Malagasy language, and they want Merina teachers replaced by *cotiers*. In December 1972, agitation by secondary school students from *cotier* tribes in the east coast city of Tamatave developed into violent clashes between *cotier* and Merina students, which in turn led to 3 days of intertribal rioting in the area, accompanied by looting and burning. The government declared a state of siege in and around Tamatave, and General Ramanantsoa attempted to restore calm in a radio address to the nation in which he declared himself to be against unduly rapid changes in the educational system and promised the creation of a new national language synthesizing the major dialects. That he faces a serious test in trying to assuage *cotier* fears and at the same time deal with dissatisfaction among radical Merina elements who believe the government is carrying out reforms too slowly was indicated by the additional disorders which broke out in Majunga and Diego-Suarez in February 1973, even though the criminal code had been amended to provide the death penalty for disruption of public order.

The animosity between the Merina and the *cotiers* has increased since independence, constituting the most serious obstacle to national unity. Except for the longstanding friction between these two sectors of the population, relations among the Malagasy tribes are generally good. Partly because there has been no intense competition for land, but also because a considerable amount of internal migration has furthered mutual understanding, the *cotier* tribes have few quarrels with one another. Moreover, all but the most isolated have an awareness of national identity and even, to some extent, a sense of national solidarity based on commonly held traditions and values, the use of a single language, and shared historical experience.

Of the alien minorities, the least popular among the Malagasy as a whole are the Asians—the Indians and Chinese who are active in the commercial sector. They are resented for their monopoly of certain areas of trade and for their "separateness" and reluctance to become involved in local problems. The Indians, in addition, are accused of questionable business practices. During the rioting in Tamatave in December 1972, many Indian and Chinese shops were looted and burned. The immigrant Comorians are also disliked, primarily because they compete with the Malagasy for the available jobs along the northwestern coast. Restrictions are now in effect to stem the flow of Comorians from their overpopulated homeland islands.

Most Malagasy tend to treat all foreigners with reserve. Culturally and geographically isolated, they have developed an insular point of view, are markedly ethnocentric, and would prefer to be left to their traditional time-honored pursuits. An interesting aspect of their attitude toward foreigners is that they tend to disparage the more Negroid peoples who have come to the island in recent decades. The Malagasy have a superior attitude toward Africans and insist on making it known that theirs is not an African nation, although it does hold membership in several African international organizations.

C. Population

Although population growth has not been as rapid in the Malagasy Republic as in many other underdeveloped countries, there has nonetheless been

a sizable increase. Between January 1953 and January 1973, the estimated population rose by 60%, as indicated below:

1953	4,460,000
1958	5,065,000
1963	5,695,000
1968	6,395,000
1973	7,141,000

Even with this increase, however, the republic is not densely settled and is considered by most Malagasy leaders to be underpopulated.

Population growth is wholly the result of natural increase. In fact, the usual excess of emigrants over immigrants serves to curb population growth slightly. During the 15-year period 1956-70, an average of 2,200 more persons left the island each year than entered it, but the net loss offset only to a very limited degree the annual gain resulting from natural increase. Comorians make up the largest single group of immigrants; emigrants include Malagasy seeking educational or economic opportunities abroad, often in France, as well as long-term foreign residents returning to their homeland.

The government rigidly limits immigration from other countries, a limitation which is aimed primarily at the nearby, overpopulated Comoro Islands. Occasionally, public officials also talk about the danger of large-scale Chinese or Indian immigration. This stems in large part from the thesis, often expounded by Malagasy leaders, that as the population pressure in Asia increases, a partially inhabited Madagascar may be vulnerable to migratory incursions from that continent.

Because births and deaths are grossly underreported, vital rates must be estimated. Since the end of World War II, the birth and death rates are known to have been high. The National Institute of Statistics and Economic Research (INSRE), on the basis of a 1966 sample survey, placed the birth rate at 46 per 1,000 population and the death rate at 23 per 1,000. Lacking more reliable data, Malagasy and foreign demographers have since used the 1966 rates in their estimates and projections of the republic's population.[2] Should the rate of growth indicated by the 1966 figures continue, the population will reach 10 million in 1988 and will double in 30 years.

Reflecting the various levels of socioeconomic development, the 1966 survey noted differential birth rates among the several tribes. The Sakalava registered the highest rate (54 per 1,000 population), followed by the Tsimihety with 53. The Merina, the most modernized of the Malagasy peoples, had a rate of 44 per 1,000 population. Rates for other tribes ranged between the two extremes.

Most Malagasy officials believe their country to be underpopulated and wish to promote population growth. In 1967 the President proclaimed that each family should have 12 children, and in February 1972 he stated that the country could support a population of 50 million to 100 million. In such circumstances, there is no official family planning program, and the importation or sale of contraceptive devices is prohibited, although this law is flouted. Nonetheless, a small family planning association, *Fianakaviana Sambatra* (Happy Family), was founded in 1964. The association, which operates two clinics in Tananarive and one in Antsirabe, is limited to providing family planning advice and materials to persons who have medical problems and those with more than four children; it also offers education on sex and the dangers of abortion. Few women visit the clinics, although urban residents are gradually coming to view family limitation as desirable. Among these persons, however, the cost of contraceptive devices is a deterrent to the practice of birth control. In rural areas, the desire for large families retains much of its traditional force, and there is little knowledge or acceptance of family planning measures.

1. Size and distribution

No complete enumeration of the inhabitants of the Malagasy Republic has ever been undertaken. However, on the basis of the 1966 sample survey conducted by INSRE in 77 selected cantons (out of a total of approximately 650), it was estimated that the population of the republic as of September 1966 was 6.2 million and that it was growing at the rate of 2.3% per year. If these estimates were valid, the population would have reached 7,141,000 at the beginning of 1973—roughly the same as that of Florida.

At the beginning of 1973, the overall density was estimated at 31.5 persons per square mile, varying from a low of 14.8 in Majunga Province to a high of 76.8 in Tananarive Province (Figure 4). The distribution of the population in quite uneven. According to one report, about 60% of the people live on 20% of the land, with the greatest concentrations of settlement being found in the central plateau region and along the east coast from Vangaindrano north to Fenerive (Figure 5). There are pockets of high density around all the major cities; the highest rural density,

[2] INSRE issues two population series each year. One, based on the 1966 survey, assumes an annual rate of growth of 2.3%. The other derives from administrative reports. The latter records a total some 10% higher than the former but is not generally accepted as being as reliable as the estimates based on the survey.

FIGURE 4. Estimated population, area, and population density, by province, 1 January 1973
(Population in thousands; area in square miles)

PROVINCE	ESTIMATED POPULATION	PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION	AREA	PERCENT OF TOTAL AREA	PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE
Diego-Suarez	586	*8.2*	16,620	*7.3*	35.3
Fianarantsoa	1,742	*24.4*	39,526	*17.4*	44.1
Majunga	857	*12.0*	57,924	*25.6*	14.8
Tamatave	1,143	*16.0*	27,765	*12.3*	41.2
Tananarive	1,728	*24.2*	22,503	*9.9*	76.8
Tulear	1,085	*15.2*	62,319	*27.5*	17.4
Total	7,141	*100.0*	226,657	*100.0*	31.5

averaging over 200 persons per square mile in some areas, is found in the great plain surrounding the Tananarive metropolitan area. Large areas in the north, south, and west are sparsely populated.

Although the urban population grew at more than twice the rate of the rural population between 1960 and 1970, the Malagasy Republic remains a predominantly rural nation, with almost 4 out of every 5 inhabitants living in communities of fewer than 1,000 residents. Most of the rural population live in villages or hamlets, dispersed farmsteads being uncommon. In 1970, the government estimated that 14.1% of the total population lived in cities with 5,000 or more inhabitants and that an additional 7.0% resided in towns of 1,000 to 5,000 population. Corresponding proportions for 1960 were 10.5% and 5.9%, respectively.

Tananarive, the national capital and center of the country's political, economic, and social life, is by far the largest city. The city itself had an estimated population of 343,670 in 1970; the population of its metropolitan area, including Ambohimanarina, was slightly in excess of 400,000. No other Malagasy city had as many as 60,000 residents in 1970. Three had populations between 50,000 and 60,000, 4 were in the 25,000 to 50,000 range, and 6 had between 15,000 and 25,000. Altogether, the 14 communities with 15,000 or more inhabitants accounted for 73% of the total urban population in 1970. With the notable exception of Tulear, a port on the Mozambique Channel, all experienced more rapid population growth during the 1960's than did the country as a whole (Figure 6).

Although migration from the countryside to urban centers is less pronounced than in many other countries, there is continuing movement to the cities, Tananarive being a special magnet. According to one study, most of the migrants to Tananarive are Merina from the surrounding countryside. This study of migration patterns in the central plateau region revealed that migration to the major cities of the area was ethnically homogeneous, that at least as many women as men migrated, and that the migration took the form of long-term or permanent resettlement rather than a recurrent to-and-fro movement.

Migration from one rural area to another apparently is of greater magnitude than is movement from rural to urban communities. Among the peoples of the arid south and southwest, there is movement to more favored parts of the island. The Antandroy, for example, leave their homelands for seasonal work as migrant laborers, as do the Antaisaka. Among the Merina, Betsileo, and Tsimihety in overcrowded rural areas, there is a tendency to migrate to the fertile alluvial river valleys of the west, where they in effect establish a patchwork of new, ethnically homogeneous village communities. The coffee, vanilla, and clove plantations of the north and northeast have attracted migrants from various parts of the country. There has been little movement, however, into the homelands of the Merina and Betsileo by other ethnic groups.

2. Age-sex structure

The population of the Malagasy Republic is concentrated in the younger ages, the result of a continuing high level of fertility. Estimates prepared by the United Nations show that the population pyramid for 1970 (Figure 7) has a very broad base; each successive age group is smaller, a reflection of the lesser number of children born in earlier years, when the population was not as large, and of attrition by death. Such an age structure is common in economically underdeveloped countries, where

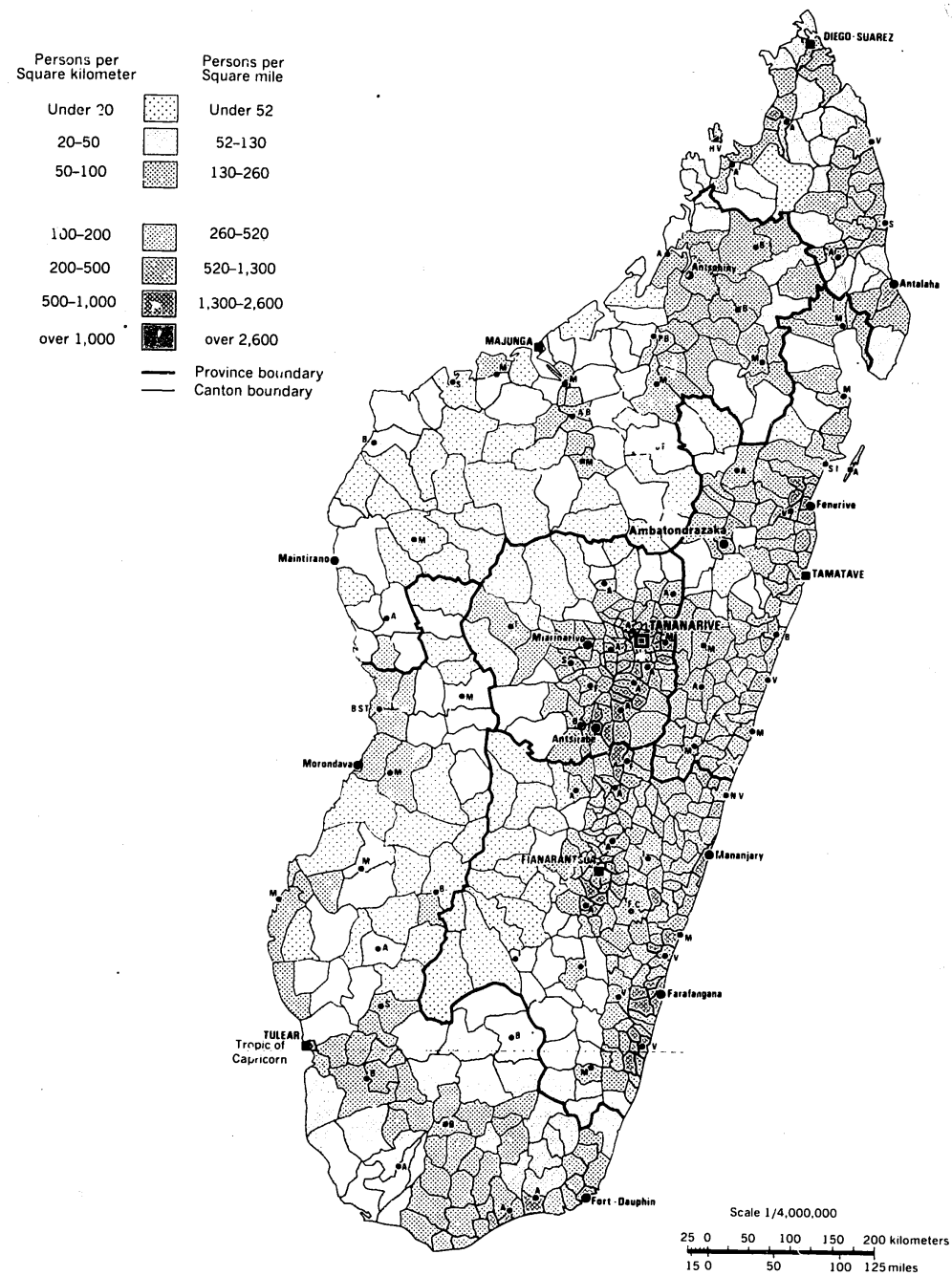

FIGURE 5. Population density, by canton, 1966

FIGURE 6. Growth of cities with 15,000 or more inhabitants in 1970

CITY	POPULATION 1960	POPULATION 1970	AVERAGE ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH
Tananarive	247,917	343,670	3.3
Tamatave	39,627	56,910	3.7
Majunga	34,119	53,993	4.7
Fianarantsoa	36,189	50,716	3.4
Diego-Suarez	28,772	46,886	5.0
Tulear	33,850	35,968	0.6
Antsirabe	18,683	35,452	6.6
Ambohimanarina	630	30,018	47.2
Manakara	11,507	19,768	6.0
Marovoay	13,960	19,454	3.4
Antalaha	8,361	18,510	8.3
Morondava	10,683	17,949	5.3
Ambatondrazka	7,343	16,995	8.8
Ambositra	8,871	15,897	6.1

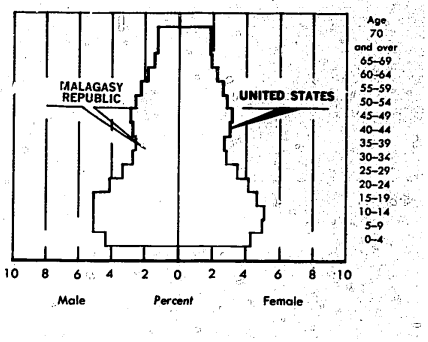

FIGURE 7. Age-sex structure, Malagasy Republic and the United States, midyear 1970

natural increase is high. In contrast, the pyramid of the U.S. population is narrower at the base, has more gradual changes from one age group to another, and is wider at the older ages, as is typical of countries which long have had comparatively low fertility and mortality.

At the beginning of 1973, the median age was estimated to be 17.3 years, more than 10 years below the figure for the United States. An estimated 45.0% of the inhabitants were under age 15, 52.4% were in the 15-64 age group, and only 2.6% were age 65 or older (Figure 8). Altogether, the population in the dependent ages (usually defined as 0-14 and 65 or older) accounted for 47.6%, resulting in a ratio of 908 persons in the dependent ages per 1,000 in the working ages (15-64). The formal dependency ratio overstates the actual degree of dependence, however, as many children under age 15 are engaged in some form of work and many persons 65 or older continue to work because of economic necessity.

The population at the beginning of 1973 comprised an estimated 3,516,400 males and 3,624,600 females, providing a sex ratio of 97 males per 100 females.

FIGURE 8. Estimated population, by age group and sex, 1 January 1973
(Population in thousands)

AGE GROUP	POPULATION Male	POPULATION Female	POPULATION Both sexes	PERCENT DISTRIBUTION Male	PERCENT DISTRIBUTION Female	PERCENT DISTRIBUTION Both sexes	MALES PER 100 FEMALES
0-4	672.7	671.5	1,344.2	19.1	18.5	18.8	100.2
5-9	506.8	514.0	1,020.8	14.4	14.2	14.3	98.6
10-14	423.3	429.5	852.8	12.0	11.8	11.9	98.6
15-19	362.6	367.7	730.3	10.3	10.1	10.2	98.6
20-24	308.0	314.1	622.1	8.7	8.7	8.7	98.1
25-29	259.6	266.8	526.4	7.4	7.4	7.4	97.3
30-34	217.3	225.6	442.9	6.2	6.2	6.2	96.3
35-39	182.3	189.5	371.8	5.2	5.2	5.2	96.2
40-44	150.4	157.6	308.0	4.3	4.3	4.3	95.4
45-49	122.6	129.8	252.4	3.5	3.6	3.5	94.5
50-54	97.8	107.1	204.9	2.8	3.0	2.9	91.3
55-59	76.2	85.5	161.7	2.2	2.4	2.3	89.1
60-64	56.5	64.9	121.4	1.6	1.8	1.7	87.1
65-69	39.1	47.4	86.5	1.1	1.3	1.2	82.5
70 and over	41.2	53.6	94.8	1.2	1.5	1.4	76.9
All ages	3,516.4	3,624.6	7,141.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	97.0

Apparently indicative of the high infant mortality, which affects boys more than girls, males outnumbered females only in the 0-4 age group. Malagasy figures note wide variation in the male-female ratio among the provinces; in 1970, it ranged from a low of 92.8 in Tulear to a high of 105.5 in Diego-Suarez. In Tananarive Province, there were 96.0 males per 100 females; in the city of Tananarive, together with suburban Ambohimanarina, the figure was 95.4.

D. Living and working conditions

Most Malagasy lead simple, primitive lives, few enjoying the social services and personal comforts that are commonplace in contemporary Western societies. While progress has been made in controlling some of the major endemic diseases, health conditions remain poor, a situation stemming in large measure from overcrowded housing and deficient sanitary practices and facilities. But although levels of living are generally depressed, they are far from uniform throughout the island, as marked contrasts are evident even within the rural sector. The Merina peasants of the interior highlands, for instance, are considerably less impoverished than the farmers and herders of the south, an inhospitable, semiarid region. In urban society, notably in Tananarive, living conditions among civil servants, who comprise roughly one-fourth of all wage and salary earners, and of a small group of entrepreneurs, many of them foreign, are far better than those prevailing among the mass of unskilled, frequently unemployed workers.

Comprising a predominantly agrarian society, many of whose members live at the level of bare subsistence, the Malagasy earn meager incomes. While some 60,000 families work on plantations for wages and other benefits, the typical farmer produces little, if anything, that brings cash income. Thus, being largely self-sufficient in food, housing, and clothing, or engaging in barter to obtain some essential items, most rural families earn less than the equivalent of US$54 per annum. By contrast, nonagricultural workers typically earn anywhere from 5 to 10 times that amount and participate actively in the money economy.

Despite having substantially higher incomes than their rural counterparts, most urban residents are not economically secure. For one thing, the competition for jobs is severe in the cities, where unemployment is high. Moreover, an inflationary trend that developed in the late 1960's, following a period (1965-68) of relative price stability, has undermined the purchasing power of the urban consumer. Triggered by the

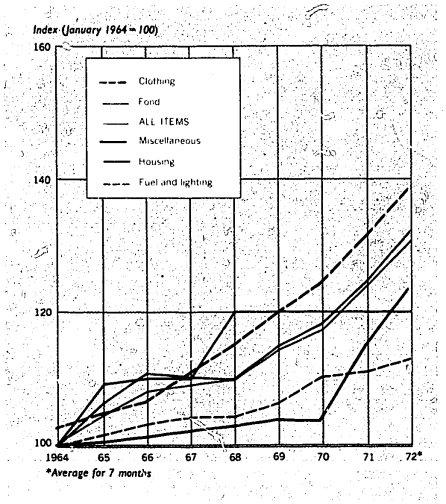

FIGURE 9. Consumer price index

cumulative effects of higher import duties, increased sales taxes, and rising costs for transporting imported goods, inflation has caused prices for manufactured goods, especially of foreign origin, to rise rapidly. Precipitated by higher costs for rice, a staple item in the Malagasy diet, and for meat, the increase in food prices has been a source of even greater concern to the average consumer (Figure 9). Government efforts to curb rising domestic prices have been largely ineffectual. After placing ceilings on the retail price of meats in the capital during late 1971, authorities were obliged to rescind the controls in the wake of a strike by butchers who were angered by the government's failure to impose corresponding controls on the prices charged by meat producers and wholesalers. It is probable, moreover, that increases in the legal minimum wage enacted during 1971 and 1972 have merely fueled inflation rather than relieving the burden of higher prices to the consumer.

While unemployment and inflation pose a particular hardship for city residents, crime constitutes a more generalized problem. Its form, however, varies according to locality. Within rural communities, informal codes of behavior have traditionally constrained individuals from performing certain antisocial acts. Paradoxically though, tribal mores seemingly do not proscribe the commission of murder for the purpose of revenge or redemption of personal

honor. Drawing on their knowledge of local flora, members of some tribes are said to be adept at preparing poisonous or otherwise lethal concoctions for use against their enemies; *lombiry*, a toxic latex extracted from a vine, as well as ironwood powder and bamboo slivers, are some of the more common ingredients of such preparations. Similarly, the dictates of society apparently do not enjoin cattle rustling by tribal herdsmen in the extreme south, where livestock constitute major symbols of wealth. In general, the government has had but limited success in preventing both homicide and cattle rustling in rural districts.

As a result of overcrowded living, high unemployment, low school-attendance rates, and political unrest, the incidence of serious crime, especially crime perpetrated by youngsters, has increased steadily in the cities. Expressed most commonly in theft, which often is carried out by organized gangs, juvenile delinquency has been rising and is particularly disquieting to urban society at large. According to a 1972 report by the Association to Aid and Protect Children, the number of known juvenile offenders rose by as much as 200% during the period 1966-71. Although made up mainly of lower class individuals, gangs of delinquents have been known to include the offspring of well-to-do families.

Prostitution, which is widespread and contributes to the prevalence of venereal diseases, is not popularly regarded as a social problem; consequently, the government has made little effort to eradicate it. Drug addiction and the use of marijuana, however, have received increased attention in official circles. While estimates of the incidence of narcotics addition vary widely (from 2 to 10 per 10,000 inhabitants), it is known that most users belong to the working class and that opium and its derivatives are the leading drugs. Cannabis is illicitly cultivated on a small scale through the country, particularly in the provinces of Fianarantsoa and Tananarive; possession, transportation, and use of the plant are illegal and punishable by fines and prison sentences. The government is a signatory to several international conventions on narcotics.

1. Health and sanitation

a. Health problems

Inadequacies in diet, housing, water supplies, personal hygiene, and environmental sanitation have contributed to the perseverance of certain endemic diseases, some of which occasionally reach epidemic proportions. Modern medicine has made inroads, even in remote areas, but most Malagasy continue to combat ailments with traditional cures and practices. With the assistance of external agencies, including the World Health Organization (WHO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), as well as with aid from France, the government has enacted a number of plans designed to control the major endemic diseases through inoculation and eradication programs and to expand and upgrade the public health services—especially in rural areas—and the facilities for training medical personnel. Despite the substantial amount of technical and financial help received from abroad, health authorities have been hampered by continuing scarcities of manpower and funds. Thus, progress in raising levels of health has been slow and the death rate, particularly among infants and children, remains high, while life expectancy is low.

Madagascar is situated for the most part within a tropical zone, but the bulk of its hinterland has a temperate climate. The population, however, is concentrated along the seacoast, an area having a humid, enervating climate which favors the propagation of numerous diseases, some of them communicable. Irrespective of location, moreover, poisonous and allergenic plants abound on the island, while rodents and numerous insects, including lice, fleas, flies, ticks, and mosquitoes, serve as disease vectors. Domesticated animals, including dogs, cattle, and hogs, have been known to carry diseases such as rabies, brucellosis, plague, and schistosomiasis. Poisonous fish and sea snakes found in the coastal waters also constitute a danger to humans.

Efforts to control the threat posed by the leading disease carriers have included the use of surveillance and extermination procedures against rats, as well as nationwide campaigns to spray dwellings with insecticides; these campaigns have contributed to the elimination of yellow fever and to a diminution of the threat posed by other insect-borne diseases, notably malaria. Countermeasures have also rid the island of smallpox and trypanosomiasis, both of which once ranked among the leading endemic diseases. Additionally, public health authorities have carried out mass instruction programs concerning the danger of rodents.

The incidence of measles, diphtheria, rheumatic fever, influenza, bronchitis, whooping cough, mumps, and chickenpox is high, particularly among children. Influenza, measles, and whooping cough usually rank among the most frequently reported communicable diseases each year. Regardless of age, gastrointestinal

disorders, most of them stemming from parasitic infestation, are widespread. The common forms of enteric diseases are amebic and bacillary dysenteries, typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, and infectious hepatitis. Dietary deficiencies are manifest in the occurrence of beriberi, kwashiorkor, and rickets.

Because of their tenacity and continued high incidence, malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy, schistosomiasis, and venereal diseases (mainly syphilis and gonorrhea) require constant monitoring and the application of countermeasures by health authorities. Considerable attention is also devoted to the control of other endemic diseases, including plague, poliomyelitis, filariasis, and measles, as local epidemics break out periodically. The antimalaria campaign begun in 1948, has succeeded in virtually eliminating the disease from the highlands; along the coast, however, it remains one of the most prevalent communicable diseases. Launched some 10 years later, the antituberculosis program subsequently came to be incorporated into the public health service, which administers oral BCG vaccinations. Two distinct forms of schistosomiasis, one of them encountered throughout the island and the other localized mainly in the southeast, constitute a major health threat to persons engaged in irrigated farming.

b. Medical care

Medical personnel and facilities are inadequate in number and inaccessible to much of the rural population, as they tend to be concentrated in urban areas. Health care facilities, most of which are operated by the government at no cost to the users, are generally substandard, largely because of a chronic scarcity of qualified medical practitioners and a lack of modern equipment. At the beginning of 1971, a total of 666 public health care facilities were in operation, as follows:

	Number	Beds
Hospitals and clinics	161	11,049
Health stations	286	3,489
Infirmaries	123	448
Maternity centers	58	495
Dispensaries	28	...
Others	10	1,493

. . . Not pertinent.

Private installations, most of them small specialized clinics and health stations, numbered 153 and contained 2,171 beds. A fleet of mobile health units operates in remote areas. Other specialized units furnish domiciliary and institutional services to expectant mothers and to infants, and they conduct an extensive health program for schoolchildren. On a national basis, including both public and private facilities, there were roughly 28 beds per 10,000 inhabitants in 1971.

Although comparable public health care services exist in each of the country's six provinces, the distribution of facilities and the patterns of staffing are not uniform. With the exception of Tananarive, which has two public general hospitals with a combined capacity of about 1,800 beds, each provincial capital has one general hospital, the capacity of which ranges from 250 to 550 beds. Below the provincial level, prefectural or municipal hospitals are located in various communities; these facilities vary in size from 20 to over 800 beds. A 900-bed mental hospital and an 800-bed leprosarium are the nation's largest facilities offering specialized medical treatment. The specialized installations, however, do not meet needs; in 1967, for example, the leprosariums accommodated only a fraction of the estimated 35,000 lepers. Similarly, the health stations which are dispersed throughout rural areas have limited capacities and usually are staffed only by a nurse or a midwife who purveys rudimentary services (mostly inoculations, advice concerning sanitary practices, and prenatal, postnatal, and infant care) on an outpatient basis; these facilities are visited periodically by public health physicians.

Diagnostic laboratories of limited capability are available in the general hospitals. Under the guidance of the famed Pasteur Institute in Paris, a Tananarive institution bearing the same name operates the only facility within the country capable of carrying out advanced laboratory work. In addition, it produces vaccines and serves as a research center on communicable diseases.

The insufficiency of the nation's medical manpower is evidenced in the high ratios of inhabitants to medical and paramedical personnel, as indicated in the following figures pertaining to 1 January 1971:

	Number	Inhabitants per practitioner
Physicians		
General practitioners	555	12,367
Specialists	85	80,752
Surgeons	27	254,222
Dentists and oral surgeons	74	92,756
Opticians	11	624,000
Pharmacists	86	79,813
Nurses, nurses' aids, and case workers	2,228	3,011
Midwives	756	9,079

Most medical and paramedical personnel are employed in the public health services. The concentration of medical professionals is highest in the capital and other cities, while rural health care

programs are mainly in the hands of nonprofessionals. The professional competence of physicians varies considerably, the more highly skilled generally being those trained abroad. Many who aspire to medical careers receive their instruction elsewhere, especially in France, as the country's two medical schools are incapable of meeting national needs. The more important of these facilities is the National Medical School, a component of the University of Madagascar, which specializes in the training of physicians. Dentists and most paramedical personnel are trained at the Befelatana School of Medicine and Pharmacy.

c. Sanitation

Water sources throughout the island generally are polluted and contribute to the high incidence of enteric diseases. Additionally, many are unreliable, notably in the southwest, which is subject to periods of drought lasting about half the year (May to October). The scarcity of water is said to pose a particular hardship for the Antandroy, whose women customarily range over wide areas during the dry season in search of water holes and wells. Elsewhere in rural districts, water is obtained from ponds, streams, rivers, and springs. Hand-dug wells, which are shallow and subject to contamination, are commonplace. Natural sources and wells also serve many town and city residents, as existing piped water systems are not extensive.

Despite the existence of treatment facilities, the water delivered through pipelines in the principal urban areas is impure. Although it is filtered and chlorinated, the water becomes contaminated chiefly as a result of inadequacies in treatment and distribution equipment, especially the water mains. Since few homes have taps within the dwelling, most urban residents are dependent on public taps or alternate sources. Indoor taps are concentrated in those neighborhoods inhabited by wealthy families and foreigners or where important government offices are located.

Waste disposal methods are rudimentary and inadequate. Sanitary sewerage systems exist only in Tananarive and Diego-Suarez; the only sewage treatment installation is located in the capital. In Tananarive and Diego-Suarez, however, as well as in all other urban centers, most households are served either by pit latrines or by outdoor privies. Residences in the better neighborhoods and many office buildings and industrial plants have septic tanks. In rural areas, the disposal of human waste is far less discriminate, as most dwellings are devoid of toilet facilities of any type.

Refuse collection and street cleaning services are provided only in the main cities. Some solid wastes are incinerated or used as landfill, but much of the garbage and other refuse is dumped haphazardly.

Food spoilage is commonplace, as refrigeration facilities are found only in urban areas, where they are used mainly by foreign residents. Although a governmental inspectorate is charged with supervision of marketplaces and slaughterhouses, enforcement of the sanitation regulations is lax, and such facilities are characteristically unsanitary (Figure 10).

2. Food consumption and nutrition

Although certain processed foods are imported, the island by and large is self-sufficient in foodstuffs, and a variety of products, including bananas, sugar, rice, peanuts, lima beans, coffee, tapioca, and vanilla, are normally exported. Cassava, rice, fish, and a spinachlike vegetable (*brettes*) are the staple food items. Other crops grown for local consumption include potatoes, sweet potatoes, taro, corn, sorghum, peas, string and lima beans, and peanuts. Consumption of fruits, especially bananas and pumpkins, is widespread.

Based heavily on vegetables and fish, the typical diet contains little meat. Some beef is produced and consumed in the highlands, but elsewhere (principally in the south), cattle are a symbol of economic prosperity and beef is seldom eaten. Consumption of milk and dairy products is confined largely to members of pastoral tribes and to residents of the capital. Hogs, goats, and sheep are raised in many localities, and chickens are found throughout the island. Ocean fish constitute a major item in the diet of coastal inhabitants, and freshwater fish are important to residents of some inland communities. The government has supported a program to stock streams and ponds with fish.

Per capita caloric intake amounted to only 2,480 units during the mid-1960's. The typical daily diet is thus adequate in terms of quantity, but it is not well balanced, as the supply of carbohydrates is excessive and that of animal protein and of certain vitamins and minerals is low. Cereals and starchy roots provide an estimated 86% of the average daily supply of calories. The per capita daily intake of protein during the early 1960's averaged 52.3 grams, with only 18% of the amount deriving from animal sources. Per capita intake of fats averaged only 16.8 grams.

3. Housing

Both in the cities and in the countryside, housing conditions are poor. Unlike their rural counterparts,

Women selling *patsa*, a freshwater shrimp, and *trondromaina*, dried or smoked fish

Butcher's stall. Meats and sausages are displayed without precaution against contamination.

FIGURE 10. Unsanitary market conditions

urban residents are not self-sufficient in housing; inasmuch as housing construction has failed to keep pace with demand, overcrowding and an acute shortage of dwellings, both of which affect all but the wealthy members of society, exist in the cities and towns. Because of migration from the countryside, the housing deficit is especially severe in the capital, notably in two sections, Isotry and Andravoahangy, where dwellings average three and five persons per room, respectively. To relieve the housing shortage in Tananarive, the government plans to build several housing developments, or *cites*, for low and middle income families. On a nationwide basis, each dwelling was occupied by an average of 5.3 persons in 1966, some 41% of the population living in houses containing six or more individuals.

Dwellings belonging to the wealthier families are either one- or two-story structures built of brick and roofed with clay tiles. The outstanding aspect of urban areas viewed from the distance is the color of the bricks and tiles, both of which are made from red clay—a fact which led to the appelation of Madagascar as the Red Island (*Ile Rouge*). In the older, poorer urban sections, many houses are constructed of mud or wood and have thatch or scrap-metal roofs. Verandas and wide, overhanging eaves, which afford some relief from the tropical heat, are common features of urban residences along the coast. Because buildings in the highlands ordinarily are not heated, thick adobe or brick walls protect against the strong winter winds. Irrespective of location, most urban houses lack electricity, piped water, and sanitary facilities. Although characterized by considerable variety (Figure 11), rural dwellings—especially along the coast—generally are built of less durable materials and are devoid of windows and amenities.

4. Work opportunities and conditions

a. The people and work

Employment opportunities are highly restricted. In 1971 more than four-fifths of all workers were engaged in agriculture, mostly as subsistence farmers. Only 1 worker in every 16 received cash in return for his labor. Moreover, a high percentage of wage and salary earners indirectly owed their livelihood to agriculture, as industrial activity centers largely on processing farm and plantation products. Despite the existence of a comprehensive body of legislation designed to guarantee the welfare of wage and salary earners, pay rates are low, working conditions are poor, and training opportunities are scarce and otherwise inadequate.

Lacking the skills requisite for employment in the modern sector, most agricultural workers (other than plantation laborers) are excluded from coverage under the labor statutes and by and large are deprived of basic social services. Perhaps because of the dearth of jobs for the unskilled in the cities, however, the volume of rural-to-urban migration has not been substantial. Despite the hardships of rural life, the predilection for farming remains strong among many

FIGURE 11. Characteristic rural dwellings

The bamboo and palm thatch huts of the Sakalava are similar to those erected by other coastal villagers.

The wooden huts of the Antandroy are distinctive for their small, ornately carved doorways.

agriculturalists, some of whom fear that a change in occupation would offend the ancestral spirits. Thus, it is not uncommon for rural migrants—disenchanted with urban life, unable to gain a livelihood, or fearful of reprisal by the spirits—to return to their places of origin. Reflecting the predominance of agriculture and the low level of industrial development, the proportion of wage-paying jobs in the labor force is thought to have actually declined since midcentury.

The strength of tradition among some societal groups and the longstanding inadequacies in domestic training opportunities are evidenced by certain patterns of occupational preference and of staffing. The Merina and the Betsimisaraka, for example, are more likely to work in the cities, or to aspire for employment in modern, better paying occupations, than are other indigenous peoples. Many managerial and technical positions are filled by non-Malagasy, usually French nationals. Similarly, a disproportionately large number of skilled craftsmen are Reunionese, Yemeni, or other nonindigenous peoples. Throughout the country, retail trade is controlled almost exclusively by residents of Chinese or Indian derivation, while many entrepreneurial activities, notably plantation agriculture, are in the hands of foreigners. Because of the scarcity of jobs outside agriculture, and particularly in view of limitations for upward mobility by indigenous workers, the government, as part of its Malagasization policy, has vowed to open an increasing number of public positions to native persons and has urged private industry to follow suit.

The lot of women in the labor force remains firmly bound by tradition. Long denied equal educational

Bamboo stockade walls are sometimes plastered with mud, as in this Sakalava dwelling.

FIGURE 12. Women sowing in a ricefield

privileges and the right to compete with men for jobs, women nevertheless comprise nearly half of the nation's workers, a proportion that can be ascribed to their importance as unpaid family workers in agriculture. In fact, within certain tribes routine farming chores, including sowing (Figure 12) and harvesting, are performed exclusively by women, while men limit themselves to such less rigorous tasks as tending livestock, gathering firewood, and hunting. Women accounted for only about one-sixth of all wage earners during the mid-1960's, and they are subject to discrimination in the kinds of work that are open to them; thus, nearly half of all female wage earners in the mid-1960's served as household domestics.

An additional indication of the resistance to the employment of women can be found in an official Malagasy report disclosing that 24% of all women workers were unemployed in 1971, as opposed to 10% for male workers. Reflecting the inability of the work force to absorb the unemployed, only 8% of a total of nearly 2,000 jobseekers registered with exchanges operated by the Ministry of Labor and Civil Service were placed in jobs during one quarter of 1971. Underemployment, widespread in rural areas, is undoubtedly a far more serious problem than unemployment. According to an International Labor Organization (ILO) estimate, the adult farmer works an average of only about 100 days a year, the actual number of workdays ranging from 43 in the vicinity of Mananjary, on the east coast, to 216 in the region of Lac Alaotra. The high rate of underemployment among peasants is said to result in part from a lack of incentive to produce more than the basic goods needed for sustenance. The vast bulk of unemployed and underemployed workers (other than farmers) possess little or no skill, inasmuch as skilled individuals, notably technicians, are in high demand.

Despite the existence of compulsory education and child protection laws, children play a significant role in the work force. Many of preschool age undertake menial tasks, especially in farming. According to an ILO estimate, 44% of all children aged 10-14 were economically active in 1970. Among youngsters ages 15-19, moreover, the labor force participation rate was estimated at 72%, a proportion exceeding that for the working age population as a whole by some 20 percentage points.

b. Labor legislation

The Labor Code of 1960, essentially applicable only to wage earners employed under contract, including numerous low- and middle-level government workers, was being revised during the latter half of 1972 by officials of the Ministry of Labor and Civil Service so as to clarify ambiguities and complexities inherent in many of the document's provisions, some of which were patterned after those in the French Overseas Labor Code. Measures relating to employee training opportunities, the correlation of skill levels and pay rates, and the length of the probationary period for starting workers reportedly were to receive particular scrutiny. The 1960 statute, which will remain in force pending the recodification, contains provisions concerning minimum wages, hours of work, the length of the workweek, annual and sick leave, holidays, health and safety standards, and contract terms. The code further regulates the employment of women and children, recognizes the right of workers to organize, establishes machinery for settling work disputes, and prescribes a 6-month probationary period for new employees.

The minimum wage provisions designate four national wage zones, each of which is assigned one wage schedule for agricultural and one for nonagricultural employment, taking into account varying levels of skills. The minimum wages were increased by an average of 10% in mid-1971 and 5% in mid-1972, but these minimum amounts normally are earned only by unskilled or starting workers, as experienced employees receive sums that are 20% or more above the mandatory base rates. The minimum monthly wages in Tananarive Province, which is within the highest zone, were equivalent to US$17.27 for agricultural laborers and to $19.57 for nonagricultural workers in 1972. The lowest minimum wages—up to 45% lower than those applicable in Tananarive Province—are in effect in the southernmost portion of the island. Administrative and professional personnel in the civil service are covered under a special salary schedule which is markedly higher than the minimum rates prescribed for the bulk

of wage earners. As an austerity measure, and in order to narrow the wide gap in pay that has long existed between public and private sectors, the government in mid-1972 reduced the salaries of its high-ranking officials by 10% to 20%; similar cuts have been decreed in the past, however, only to be followed by government wage raises surpassing those in private industry.

The Labor Code provides for a 40-hour workweek for all wage and salary earners, except those in agriculture and the civil service, who must work 48 hours, and requires that all workers be granted a day of rest, preferably Sunday. For work beyond those limits, overtime pay consists of 130% of regular wages for the first 8 hours per week and 150% for each additional hour. Paid vacation time is accrued at a rate of 1½ or 2 days per month, depending on length of service. Additional fringe benefits, such as food rations, housing, and medical care, are furnished to numerous workers. Housing, for example, was provided to 25% of all wage and salary earners in the private sector (mostly plantation workers) and to 6% of those in the public service in 1962.

While remuneration and conditions of work are poor by Western standards, the benefits enjoyed by workers in the cash economy are quite attractive in comparison with what is available to most members of the labor force, especially the subsistence farmers. The Labor Inspectorate—an entity of the Ministry of Labor and Civil Service with branches throughout the country—is charged with enforcement of the code. Compliance with the regulations is lax, however, and violations are widespread. In 1964, for instance, when the inspectorate examined 860 enterprises, an average of 6.8 infractions per establishment were discovered. Chiefly, these involved wage payments, overtime, employment contract terms, and paid leave.

Although guaranteed the right to organize, workers have had scant success in forming a viable trade union movement and have little power to improve their lot through collective bargaining or by otherwise influencing management. Perhaps in recognition of the need for such pressure mechanisms, especially in the larger enterprises, the government decreed in 1968 that worker representatives must be chosen in all firms employing 11 or more persons. The number of representatives varies in accordance with the size of each establishment. Elected by their peers, they are empowered to present grievances or petitions before management; duties on behalf of their constituencies may be performed on company time, up to a maximum of 15 hours per month.

c. Labor and management

Despite the existence of employee unions and of legislation designed to render management responsive to the needs of workers, voluntary collective bargaining seldom takes place. When a labor dispute arises, the case is presented to a labor inspector who, if unable to mediate a compromise, forwards it to an arbitration board. The board's decisions are binding, provided neither party to the grievance appeals for a stay within 4 days. Strikes and lockouts are considered legal only if these procedures are observed, and severe penalties are provided in case they are not. In practice, however, disputes rarely escalate into work stoppages. In 1964, for instance, only about one-fourth of the 4,940 labor disputes submitted to inspectors had to be forwarded to arbitration boards, and only three of these actually culminated in stoppages. Although considerable labor unrest was evidenced during the first half of the 1960's, the period thereafter was rather calm until May 1972, when urban workers, in solidarity with protesting students, carried out a nationwide strike that was instrumental in precipitating a change in administration.

Founded with outside assistance during the colonial period, the island's trade union movement flourished during the 1950's and for a few years after independence although it never represented more than a small fraction of the labor force. During the 1960's, however, the effectiveness of unions deteriorated as the result of a lack of funds (duespayers probably have never accounted for more than 25% of total membership), poor leadership and organization, chronic internal rivalry, and stringent government controls. A gradual orientation toward political activities, moreover, eventually transformed the trade unions into adjuncts of political parties, a development that was attended by a further erosion of power. Regarding the unions as a potential threat, the government has constricted their activities, only occasionally allowing them to play a consultative role in the formulation of labor policy.

In early 1966, a total of 59 local unions claiming a membership of approximately 125,000 were functioning. Those representing civil servants and postal and telecommunications workers were among the most important. Some of the groups, however, such as those representing farmers, stockraisers, and vanilla producers, were little more than trade guilds or professional associations. Having grown nominally, by 1971 the strength of organized labor was officially estimated at 136,000 members, comprising roughly three-fifths of all wage and salary earners but less than 4% of the labor force as a whole.

Of the nation's four labor centrals, the largest and most influential is the Malagasy Workers Federation (FMM). The FMM was affiliated with the Social Democratic Party (PSD) for 11 years—an arrangement that subsequently made it the beneficiary of certain economic and social favors—but it detached itself from the party in July 1972. By necessity pursuing a more independent course, the FMM has demanded the nationalization of a number of commercial enterprises, including those engaged in exploiting underground resources and processing basic commodities, and the liberalization of social laws. Affiliated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the FMM is a member of that organization's African Trades Union Congress (ATUC). It regularly receives aid from the African-American Labor Center, an organization backed by the AFL-CIO.

Another central, the Malagasy Trade Unions Federation (FISEMA), has maintained close ties with Communist opposition leaders for many years. FISEMA belongs to the All African Trade Union Federation (AATUF), and is also affiliated with the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). Its influence is strongest among dockworkers and vanilla plantation laborers in Diego-Suarez, but it also represents certain white-collar employees in Tananarive and Majunga; it is the nation's largest organization representing agricultural workers. The central's leaders are more dedicated and better trained than those of its non-Communist rival groups.

Having little influence, the Jesuit-founded Christian Confederation of Malagasy Trade Unions (CCSM) has members mostly in Tananarive, Tulear, and Majunga. The confederation is closely allied with the Catholic Church—its constituent locals meet in parochial churches—and was long opposed to the Tsiranana administration. The CCSM is affiliated with the World Confederation of Labor and its regional entity, the Pan-African and Malagasy Union of Believing Workers. Additionally, it is a member of the ATUC. The fourth central, the Association of Autonomous Trade Unions of Madagascar (USAM), was formed by a secessionist member of FISEMA. A somewhat loose amalgamation of independent locals, it has little influence.

Management organizations likewise are weak, a characteristic deriving in part from the small size of firms. In 1969 only nine of the island's nearly 7,000 private employers had more than 1,000 workers; 200 firms employed between 250 and 1,000 persons. Found in most cities, management organizations consist chiefly of chambers of commerce, industry, and agriculture. As of 1967, roughly 40 such groups were in operation, representing some 2,700 member firms; at the national level, many were affiliated with the Federation of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture of Madagascar and the Comoros as well as with the Federation of Economic Interest Syndicates of Madagascar. Additionally, there were some 25 smaller, unaffiliated organizations representing about 1,000 constituent firms.

5. Social welfare

Other than free medical care, which is available through the public health system, little is offered in the way of public welfare services. Certain private, mainly religious, organizations sponsor welfare activities, but these have highly limited capacities and are confined essentially to the larger urban areas. In view of the increase in juvenile delinquency, and since the rate of illegitimate births is high, the Association to Aid and Protect Children ranks among the nation's most important private welfare entities. Founded in 1958, the association operates homes for wayward youth and for foundlings and orphans at facilities in five cities; some of its rehabilitative services are undertaken in collaboration with the public education authorities. Similarly, the Young Malagasy Christian Workers Organization, which is headquartered in the capital and has branches in Majunga and Tamatave, provides assistance to less fortunate youngsters. The Red Cross Society of Madagascar, an affiliate of the International Red Cross, renders emergency aid and carries out disaster relief operations.

In the countryside, tribal society has traditionally attended to the welfare needs of its members. Even in the poorest of communities, the extended family normally pools its meager food supplies or other resources to ensure the survival of a destitute or otherwise disadvantaged individual. Kinship responsibilities are also reinforced by *fokonolona*, a mystical, cohesive force which exists among many villagers.

Already a sector with one of the highest levels of living in the nation, wage and salary earners employed by the government or by some of the larger private firms are the prime beneficiaries of the nation's social security legislation. As a block, government workers receive the highest pay and the best fringe benefits of any element in the work force. Social security legislation, though comprehensive in terms of the plans that are stipulated, does not apply to agricultural workers or the self-employed. The statutes, moreover, are not rigorously enforced. Many eligible workers in private industry are excluded from

coverage because their employers fail to make the required contributions. Thus, perhaps no more than 4% of the population, including workers and their dependents, are covered under some aspect of the social security program.

Responsibility for managing the social security program is divided between two government agencies: the National Insurance Fund, which is in charge of insuring workers in the private sector, and the Ministry of Finance and Economy, which administers the civil service portion. Four basic types of coverage are provided: work injury and disability payments, including pensions for the widows and orphans of deceased workers; maternity benefits; monthly allowances for child support; and old age and invalidity pensions. General medical care for other than maternity cases is not provided, since under the 1960 Labor Code the larger companies are required to maintain clinics to cope with work-related illnesses and injuries of their employees. Previously applicable only to government workers, the pension plan was expanded as of 1 January 1969 to include workers in private industry. The cost of funding the program is borne mainly by the employer, who must pay a sum equivalent to 13% of the insured worker's wages, while the employee contributes 1%. In general, government workers receive more generous benefits, including pensions, than their counterparts in private industry. In 1967, for example, public employees received more in family allowances alone than was disbursed by the National Insurance Fund for benefits of all kinds to private workers, despite the fact that the latter are substantially more numerous than the former.

E. Religion

Traditional religion not only influences the national character and temperament profoundly but also restricts the possibility of rapid social change. Reflecting considerable homogeneity, customary beliefs were held by some 52% of the population in 1971, while adherents of Christianity and Islam accounted for the remainder, Muslims comprising roughly 7% of the total. Some animist beliefs and practices have been retained by many Christians and most Muslims; indeed, about four-fifths of the latter are said to be more animist than Muslim.

Although believers in the traditional religion, which may be characterized as a cult of the dead, generally accept the existence of a vague, all-powerful deity, they are far more concerned with maintaining the proper filial devotion to their immediate forebears. In customary belief, ancestral spirits, while inhabiting another world, nevertheless watch over their descendants, controlling their destiny by giving advice, dispensing reward or punishment, and requiring obedience to traditional customs. The dead and the living thus form a single society in constant contact. Less important deities also inhabit the spirit world. The *angatra*, for example, are evil spirits who roam at night, teasing and occasionally killing people, while the *ambiroa* are largely good spirits who deliver messages from the dead by way of dreams.

According to traditional belief, the supernatural powers of the spirits enable them to "possess" whatever form they desire, including humans, animals, birds, trees, stones, and thunder and lightning. To the Betsileo, the most noble spirits possess large snakes, and to the Betsimisaraka they inhabit lemurs and crocodiles. Similarly, spirits are believed to dwell in springs, wells, and forests.

Because of the overriding importance of ancestral spirits, the family tomb is the most sacred of all hallowed places. Thus, among the Merina, execution is considered a less severe punishment for a criminal act than to be denied burial in the family tomb. Tombs usually are decorated stone structures located in the open (Figure 13), but they may also be found in caves, among rocks, and sometimes in trees. Among the Mahafaly, and perhaps other tribes, underground burial sites are marked by zebu horns and wooden posts called *aloalo*. Measuring up to 15 feet in height, the *aloalo* are carved in highly stylized designs and surmounted by such representational sculptures as animals, birds, warriors, or women grinding corn (Figure 14). If an individual is so unfortunate as to die away from home and his remains cannot be returned

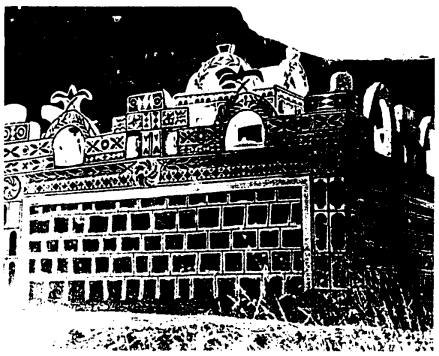

FIGURE 13. A Merina family tomb, constructed of stone and decorated with traditional designs

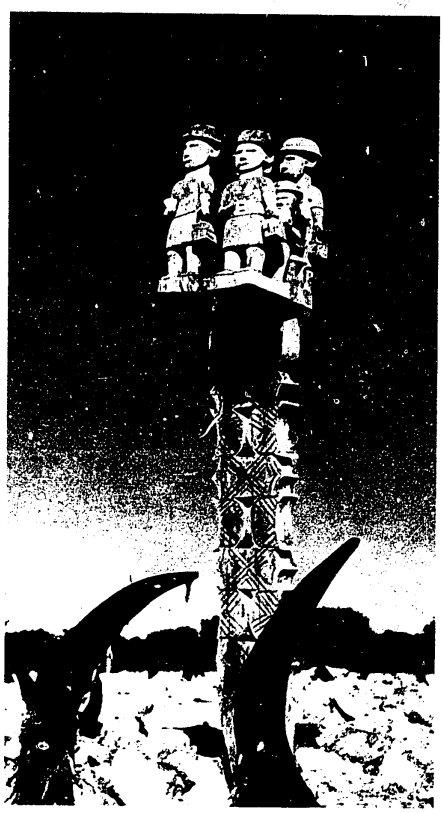

FIGURE 14. A Mahafaly family tomb decorated with an *aloalo* and the horns of zebus sacrificed during burial rites

for burial in the family tomb, a funerary monument, known as a *vato-lahy*, is erected in his honor, and he is given traditional burial rites. Considered sacred, the *vato-lahy* is a dressed stone stele 3 to 15 feet high which is placed along a road, at the entrance to a village, or in the market place. Mountains, lakes, and forests may also be considered sacred localities if associated in some personal way with the life of the deceased, especially an important tribal monarch.

The chief function of customary religion is to prescribe highly practical ways either to propitiate or to avoid offending omnipresent ancestral spirits. The surest way to appease the departed is to perform ceremonies in which they are offered gifts. It is widely believed, for example, that the spirits are pleased by offerings of rice, honey, fats, and alcoholic beverages and, above all, by the sacrifice of cattle, sheep, or fowl. One of the most important ceremonies in the cult of the dead is the *famadihana*, literally "the turning of the corpse" (Figure 15). Periodically, in this macabre rite, the remains of a family member are disinterred, reclothed in a fresh shroud, and carried with great pomp to a new tomb. The ceremony, lasting several days, is accompanied by speechmaking, dancing, singing, and an abundance of food and drink. Cattle are slaughtered, the number depending on the family's wealth, and the cost of musicians alone for a lavish *famadihana* may be as much as $300. Thus a family may place itself in debt for years in order to pay for a single ceremony. Drawing relatives and friends from far away, the *famadihana* also diminishes the country's productivity considerably by keeping participants away from work.

Respect for the wishes of the ancestors is enforced by means of taboos, or *fady*, which govern every aspect of the believer's life. Some taboos can never be conjured away, such as being born on an unpropitious day. For most, however, some form of offsetting protection can be found. Among the Antandroy, for instance, the birth of twins is considered an ill omen and, if they are not born with the protection afforded by a hospital, one will be buried alive in an anthill. Among some tribes it is forbidden to whistle in certain parts of the forest, and one may never speak of the dead. In Imerina, a person will not hand an egg directly to another but will place it on the ground to be picked up. It is common practice to wear a protective amulet made from medicinal plants, bones, teeth, hair, or bits of glass, metal, or wood. Collective taboos embody

FIGURE 15. The *famadihana* ceremony, or "turning of the corpse," in a village near Ambanja

Antandroy

Merina

FIGURE 16. Traditional diviners who, facing east, look into the future by arranging dried beans in particular designs

general precepts, such as those that forbid marriage between members of certain castes or the eating of particular foods. Shunning innovation, the animist Malagasy are supposed to live as nearly as possible as did their ancestors. Any transgression of a taboo exposes the individual to the vengeance of the spirits—which can mean loss of crops and livestock, grave illness, and even death.

In traditional religion, which has neither priests nor temples, the head of the family has special powers that derive from his role as intermediary between the living and the dead. In addition, there are several types of diviners, sorcerers, and witches—helpful ones who can foretell the future, provide amulets and love potions, and cure sickness (Figure 16), and evil ones who can be enjoined to place a hex on a rival

In tangible and intangible ways the traditional Malagasy religion has a stultifying effect on both the individual and society. The price of an orderly social organization based on fear of one's ancestors has been

the prevalence of superstition, a general reluctance to take any initiative, and a chronic sense of guilt and dependence. Because he cannot hope to avoid all the taboos or to perform all the required propitiations, the average believer has a pervading sense of guilt, referred to locally as *tsiny*, and his only hope for warding off the unhappy consequences of his oversight or negligence is to constantly excuse himself. Even in casual conversation the Malagasy intersperse many apologies for their shortcomings. The net results of the careful observance of customary beliefs are a conforming, nonindividualistic life and a static society. To fulfill their innumerable obligations and to escape harm, the Malagasy must avoid the new and the unknown, because in this negative way they believe themselves least likely to offend a spirit or violate a taboo.

From the standpoint of Christian and Islamic proselytizers, traditional religious beliefs provide useful avenues of approach to prospective converts. The conviction that the universe is ordered and that the individual must bear the consequences of his acts is also basic to other religions. Because customary beliefs already encompass a spirit world as well as a Supreme Being, and have never produced an ecclesiastical structure, Christian missionaries especially have found Madagascar a favorable field of activity.

Although Christian missionary efforts began as early as the 16th century, continuous activity was not initiated until roughly 1820, when the London Missionary Society, a Congregationalist group, began converting the Merina upper classes in Tananarive. Other Protestant groups followed, including Anglicans, Lutherans, Quakers, and French Calvinists. Roman Catholic missions were established in 1861 but did not flourish until after the French conquered the island in 1895. Protestant missionaries largely worked among the Merina, while Catholics were successful in converting members of coastal tribes. All missions soon had sizable numbers of adherents as a result of their religious, educational, and medical activities. In 1971 the total Protestant community comprised roughly 1.3 million members, while in the same year Roman Catholic membership numbered 1.5 million. There were about 1 million Catholics and an equal number of Protestants in 1963, so both communities have grown substantially in the intervening years.

In about 1925 the Protestants divided Madagascar into missionary regions, the Congregationalists and the Calvinists taking the north, the Lutherans the south, the Anglicans the east, and the Quakers the west, a geographical division that has largely continued to the present day. In 1968 the Congregationalists, Calvinists, and Quakers united to form the Church of Jesus Christ in Madagascar, while the American, French, and Norwegian Lutherans merged to form the Malagasy Lutheran Church. Together the two groups established the island's largest Protestant organization, the Federation of Protestant Churches of Madagascar, which in 1971 included approximately 1.2 million members, over 6,000 congregations, and some 386 schools. Of the Federation churches, the Lutherans were the largest with somewhat under 448,000 members. Other major denominations include the Anglicans, with 386 churches, 37,000 members, and 30 schools; and the Seventh-day Adventists with 82, 40,000, and 40, respectively. There are also a number of independent Protestant churches.

In 1971 the Catholic hierarchy comprised one cardinal and two archbishops, all native born; 13 bishops, of whom four were Malagasy; 659 priests; and 2,536 religious, many of whom were serving in over 900 Catholic schools. The Jesuits are the largest order, concentrating their missionary work among the Betsileo and the tribal groups of the east coast. Masses vary from one church to another and in some areas tend to deviate from usual liturgical practice by prolonged hymn singing, long sermons, and extemporary prayers.

During the formative period of Christian mission activity, a wide division developed between the Protestant Merina ruling elite and Catholic *cotier* tribal groups, along with intense competition for political influence. Since independence in 1960, the Protestant-Catholic dichotomy has taken on even stronger political overtones. The Protestant Merina elite lost its ruling status to the Catholic *cotier* majority, but the Merina gained control of the government in 1972. Each group continues to visualize the other in terms of political forces.

There is no reliable estimate of the size of the Muslim community, but probably at least 500,000 persons adhere more or less to the Islamic faith. Fewer than one-fifth, however, are believed to be true adherents, including less than 40,000 Malagasy, an equal number of Comorian residents, over 17,000 Indians, and some 2,000 Arabs. Practically all Muslims reside in the coastal regions—the Antakarana in the north, the Antaimoro and the Antambahoaka in the southeast, and the Sakalava in the west. Comorian Muslims largely inhabit Majunga and other towns along the west coast.

The first Malagasy to become Muslims were the Antaimoro, whose ancestors were converted to Islam in the seventh century. Although their religion was strengthened by a new wave of Muslim immigrants in the 15th century, the Antaimoro practice a superficial form of Islam, as do the more numerous and more recently converted Sakalava. In fact, with the exception of a few thousand Malagasy, the Comorians, and perhaps the Indians, who scrupulously observe religious practices and habitually pray at the mosque, most Muslims are casual in their devotion to the faith. They do practice circumcision and abstain from eating pork, but both practices are also characteristic of traditional religion; they recite Islamic verses whose meaning they generally do not understand and observe a local version of Ramadan. Instead of fasting from sunrise to sunset during this month supposedly devoted to penitence and prayer, they feast and drink continuously while invoking the spiritual aid of Zanahary (the animist god), Allah, Muhammad, the spirits of their ancestors and, if exposed to Christian influence, Christ, Calvin or Luther, or the Virgin Mary and the Pope. To some Malagasy who claim to be Muslims, Islam has no religious significance whatsoever.

The Muslim population adheres to three different Islamic sects which are subdivided into a dozen or more lesser bodies. The Comorians, who pride themselves on strict adherence to Islamic precepts, are members of the Sunni (orthodox) branch and follow the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence. Muslim Indians are largely Shias.

F. Education

Throughout most of the colonial era, public education was not assigned a high priority. Since the end of World War II, however, and especially since the establishment of the Malagasy Republic, significant progress has been achieved in the development of a system of public schooling. Nonetheless, illiteracy is still widespread, and the educational system remains plagued by serious shortcomings, such as an inadequate physical plant, overcrowded classrooms, a shortage of teachers, high dropout rates, and insufficient equipment and supplies. It is also hampered by curriculums and teaching methods inappropriate to the present-day needs of the nation. Other difficulties cited by observers include an overly French and academic orientation and what appears to be a built-in bias in favor of middle and upper class urban children, particularly Merina children.

Controversy over Malagasization of education, erupting in a series of student strikes and disorders early in 1972, resulted in the premature closing of all schools in May. They were reopened in October without any major reforms, the government defending its action by noting that "old-fashioned studies are better than no studies at all." In fact, the government has at its disposal neither the funds nor trained Malagasy teachers to effect the complete Malagasization of the schools demanded by many critics. It has promised gradual reform, but for the immediate future controversy over the schools can be expected to be disruptive of national unity and to exacerbate tribal animosities.

In its efforts to defuse the discontent, the government has promised to increase the number and quality of rural schools, to reduce class sizes, and to equip all schools with workshops, laboratories, libraries, and health rooms. It has also announced that it will reorganize curriculums to accord more closely with the needs of the people, introduce a system of tuition grants permitting free schooling for all, and initiate instruction in the local dialect of Malagasy in the first years, after which the Merina dialect will be used, gradually replacing French. These reforms must be viewed as long-range objectives, however, as they are far beyond the government's present ability to implement.

The school system inherited by Malagasy authorities at the time of independence basically was a small-scale model of that existing in France. Although changes have since been introduced, the system remains akin to that of the French and retains a strong academic bias. Overwhelmingly, students aspire to white-collar careers. Because of limited student demand, technical and vocational training has been largely ignored. Consequently, no level of the school system is producing graduates with technical or vocational proficiency appropriate to the development objectives of the government. At the same time, the system is turning out an oversupply of academically oriented graduates who disdain manual labor. Because even university graduates have difficulty finding jobs commensurate with their training, the plight of secondary school graduates and those with some college training is especially serious. Many simply join the ranks of the urban unemployed, adding to the potential for social unrest.

The national government plays the major role in educational affairs, but the public schools are also supported by the provincial governments, and local communities often construct and maintain primary school facilities. Assistance from foreign governments

and international agencies has been crucial in capital investment in the field of secondary and higher education, with the most substantial aid coming from France.

Private schools have long been important in primary and secondary education. In 1970/71, for example, private institutions enrolled 24% of all students at the primary level and 66% of those at the secondary level. Most are operated by Christian denominations, although some have no ties with religious groups. With few exceptions, these schools suffer from chronic financial problems, student fees accounting for the bulk of their income. Unlike the situation in many other underdeveloped countries, private schools are generally regarded as inferior to the public institutions. Most are located in rural areas and draw their student bodies from among those who for one reason or another lack access to a public school or are unable to gain admission thereto. Private schools are free to create their own study programs, but they tend to follow government curriculums closely, as they are required to use government-approved textbooks and must prepare students for the national examinations. Small subsidies to the private institutions also give the government a degree of control over them. In addition, the private schools are subject to inspection, as are all public schools. Inspection is entrusted to the heads of the provincial educational services.

Because of a lack of priority accorded education during much of the colonial era, literacy in the Malagasy Republic is low. Based on the INSRE survey in 1966, the literacy rate for the population age 10 and over was placed at 45%, some 10 percentage points higher than the 34.5% estimated for 1953. Increased access to schooling was also indicated by the higher rates registered in 1966 by the younger age groups (Figure 17). Men are more likely to be able to read and write than women, but the disparity between the sexes with respect to literacy is much less marked in the younger age groups than in the older, indicating that the official effort to provide schooling for both boys and girls has met with considerable success. Urban residents, because they have better access to schools, have a higher literacy rate than their rural counterparts. Among the tribal groups, the Merina are the most literate, a rate of 66% being reported.

FIGURE 17. Literacy, population age 10 and over, by age group and sex, 1966
(Percent)

AGE GROUP	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH SEXES
10–14	71.0	65.8	68.4
15–19	62.8	49.2	56.3
20–24	55.0	35.0	45.0
25–34	52.0	26.5	39.3
35–44	49.0	22.0	35.5
45–54	46.0	21.0	33.5
55–64	43.0	19.0	31.0
65 or older	31.0	8.0	19.5
All ages 10 or over	54.6	35.0	45.0

FIGURE 18. Enrollment, by level of education

LEVEL	1960/61	1970/71
Primary	458,447	938,015
Secondary:		
Academic	25,172	108,056
Technical	5,636	6,988
Teacher training	1,552	2,212
Total secondary	32,360	117,256
Higher	1,130	5,293
Grand total	491,937	1,060,564

NOTE—Students in specialized schools, such as those offering training in applied arts, nursing, midwifery, and other subjects, are not included. In 1970/71, these students numbered 981. The school year runs from October through July.

To provide greater educational opportunities and thereby raise levels of literacy and educational attainment, the government has opened many new schools and has encouraged the establishment of additional private institutions. The total number of primary schools, for example, rose from about 2,600 in 1960/61 to nearly 5,900 in 1970/71, while the number of secondary schools increased from 197 to 638. As a consequence of this expansion of facilities, enrollment has soared (Figure 18), primary school enrollment increasing by about 105% and that of academic secondary schools by 329%. Yet the system is still unable to accommodate all children, even at the primary level, and the law stipulating compulsory attendance between the ages of 6 and 15 cannot be enforced because of the shortage of classrooms and teachers. In 1970/71, it was estimated that about 77% of those in the 6-11 age group were attending school; for those in the 12-17 age group, the proportion was but 10%. Although these figures represent substantial improvement over those for 1960/61 (52% and 4%, respectively), they point up the formidable task still confronting Malagasy educators.

Malagasy education comprises 6 years of primary training, 6 years of secondary schooling, and higher education offered mainly at the University of Madagascar in Tananarive. Primary training is divided into 4-year and 2-year cycles. The initial cycle, designed to impart basic literacy and arithmetic skills and to inculcate a sense of civic and social

responsibility, is the only schooling provided in most rural areas and is normally terminal for rural children if indeed they progress that far. Instruction is in the Merina dialect of Malagasy, with French introduced as a foreign language in the third grade. Completion of the first cycle is a prerequisite for admission to the second. During the final 2-year primary cycle, French is introduced as the language of instruction in such subjects as mathematics, history, and geography. According to observers, the use of both Malagasy and French in the primary schools has had the result of preventing students from obtaining an adequate knowledge of either language.

Entrance to academic secondary schools is contingent upon completion of the primary curriculum and the passing of a national entrance examination which, because of strictly limited capacity in secondary institutions, has been designed to weed out all but the most promising students. Academic secondary education is offered in two kinds of schools which in effect constitute mutually exclusive systems that draw their students from different socioeconomic backgrounds. *Lycees*, found only in the six provincial capitals and in Antsirabe, offer a 6-year, or "long," course that leads to the coveted *baccalaureat* and is a prerequisite for admission to higher education. The general secondary schools, which provide a 3-year, or "short," course that is terminal except for teacher training, are located chiefly in prefectural or subprefectural seats. Studies have shown that *lycee* students come largely from middle and upper class urban families that place considerable emphasis on formal schooling, while those in the general secondary schools are more likely to be children of less well-to-do parents from small towns or rural areas. The fact that there are two separate kinds of secondary schools, one identified with the cities and the other with the countryside, has given rise to the charge that Malagasy education is biased in favor of the wealthier urban elements. Critics see the disparate schools as a device by which the elite seek to perpetuate their own privileged status and hinder social mobility.

In both general secondary schools and in *lycees*, the French language assumes increasing importance. During the final 3 years of the *lycee* program, almost all instruction is in French, which is also the language of higher education. The study of the Malagasy language is now mandatory, but it is still taught as a second language.

Technical and vocational training is offered in specialized schools at the secondary level. It has received little emphasis, however, and technical and vocational schools are particularly poorly equipped; the quality of instruction is said to be below that required to train skilled laborers.

At all levels of the school system, the dropout rate is high. It is especially pronounced at the end of the fourth and sixth years of the primary cycle. Moreover, it has been estimated that only 9% of those who enter secondary school (presumably the *lycees*) survive to sit for the *baccalaureat* examination, and only one-half of these can expect to pass and receive a diploma.

Higher education on the island is offered mainly at the University of Madagascar, which was established in 1961 when several preexisting schools were merged into the new institution. It has been heavily subsidized by the French Government (which recognizes its degrees), in return for the university's employment of numerous French instructors and administrators and use of a French curriculum. Late in 1972, the Malagasy Government indicated its intention of abrogating the agreement under which France had agreed to subsidize the university and of negotiating new arrangements which would allow more Malagasy control over the university. A bachelor's degree is awarded, normally after a 3-year program; a master's degree is given after 1 year of postgraduate study. Enrollment in the university rose from 1,130 in 1960/61 to 5,648 in 1971/72, when it was divided among the constituent faculties, schools, and institutes as follows:[3]

Faculty of Law and Economic Studies	2,238
Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences	1,184
Institute of Applied Linguistics	968
Faculty of Sciences	954
National Medical School	475
National School for Cadres	191
National School for Social Progress	119
Institute of Industrial Technology	96
Institute of Agricultural Technology	93
Institute of Business Management	94
National School of Public Works	48
Institute of Physical Education	21
National Higher School of Agronomy	14

A number of Malagasy go abroad for higher education each year. Most pursue their studies in France under auspices of the French Fund for Aid and Cooperation, which during the 1960's provided between 500 and 700 scholarships annually for Malagasy students. In 1971 there were 11 Malagasy students in the United States.

Malagasy schools, especially those in rural areas, are typically small. Many are one-room structures which are severely overcrowded (Figure 19). Double shifts are

[3]Some students are enrolled in more than one component.

FIGURE 19. Crowded classroom typical of Malagasy schools

used in some areas. Generally, equipment is rudimentary and textbooks are in short supply. In the late 1960's, for example, it was estimated that there was one textbook for every four students in the nation's primary schools.

Although a substantial expansion of the teaching staff occurred during the 1960's, the increase no more than kept pace with the growth in enrollment, and the school system is still confronted by a shortage of teachers, especially of qualified ones. Each year, some newly built schools are forced to postpone their openings because of a lack of teachers. In *lycees* and at the University of Madagascar, French nationals comprise a sizable, although declining, proportion of the teaching staff.

The shortage of Malagasy teachers stems less from a lack of aspirants than from an inadequate number of openings in teacher training facilities. Middle and upper class urban students seldom choose teaching as a career, but it holds considerable attraction for the small-town or rural student, to whom it represents a means of advancement. Yet during a period when primary school enrollment more than doubled, the capacity of teacher training programs rose by only 43%. Most prospective teachers for the primary grades are trained in 1- or 2-year courses undertaken after the completion of 9 years of schooling; the 1-year course prepares candidates to teach in grades 1 through 4 of the primary school, the 2-year course for grades 5 and 6. The National Institute for Educational Research and Training prepares teachers for secondary schools. Located in Tananarive, it offers a 2-year post-*baccalaureat* program for prospective general secondary school teachers and an additional 1-year, postdegree program for prospective *lycee* instructors.

G. Artistic and cultural expression

Little information is available on art and culture, although scholarly research began as early as the mid-1860's. The *Antananarive Annual*, an academic journal, was published from 1875 to 1900, and the *Academie Malgache*, a semiofficial historical association organized in 1902, was instrumental in founding what is now named the National Library. From 1914 until its demise in 1942, the *Ecole des Beaux Arts de Tananarive* trained a number of artists, while the more recently established *Ateliers d'Art Applique Malgache*, also in Tananarive, has encouraged the production of native handicrafts. To identify and safeguard the country's remaining antiquities, an archives service was inaugurated in 1958. The *Musee du Palais de la Reine* in Tananarive is the republic's only museum (Figure 20).

Madagascar's most original cultural expression lies in the fields of music and literature rather than fine arts. Music, both instrumental and vocal, is well developed and plays a major role in Malagasy life. Often combined with dance and drama, it is believed to have originated in Southeast Asia, but other influences are apparent, notably Arab or Moorish, east African, and European. The merging of these and other influences has produced a distinctive Malagasy musical style, which, however, varies from region to region.

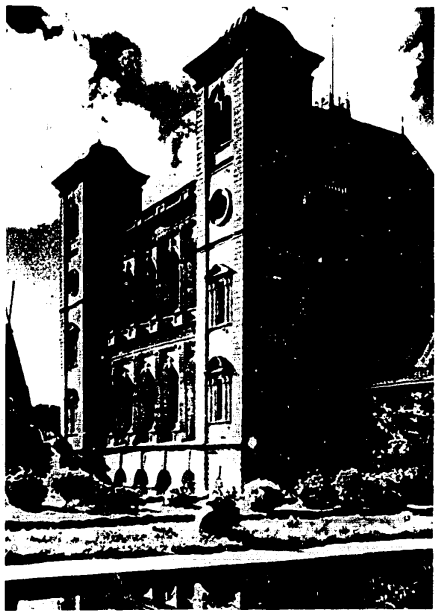

FIGURE 20. *Musee du Palais de la Reine* in Tananarive

Antandroy playing an accordion. Beside him is a dancer.

A Merina man with a *valiha*, a zitherlike instrument made from a hollowed-out bamboo pole which serves as a resonating chamber

Mahafaly playing a native violin

FIGURE 21. Popular musical instruments

Basic musical instruments, also introduced from the same general areas, include the *valiha*, a type of zither made from bamboo, the guitar, and various drums, all from Asia; the *sobaba*, or flute, and the viol from the Middle East; the stick zither and the xylophone from continental Africa; and the violin, trumpet, clarinet, accordion, and harmonium, or reed organ, from Europe (Figure 21).

Songs vary from the traditional melancholy, pentatonic forms to those showing Western and other influences, including melodies and harmonies derived from Protestant hymns, English military music, 18th century European dance tunes, American Negro spirituals, and modern dance music. Comic songs are highly developed but require an accurate knowledge of the language to be appreciated. Sentimental love songs, often with beautiful melodies, are popular. Throughout the island, traditional religious rites include ancestor dirges; monophonic, they have no accompaniment or second voice but descend in a single melodic line.

Two underlying musical styles can be distinguished—one in the high plateau region, represented

by the Merina and other tribes, and the second focused in the southern desert area. In the former, music and song tend to be divided into groups of phrases, called strophes, each of which corresponds to a verse. Strongly influenced by European forms, melodic lines are long, and bursts of beautiful melody, within the framework of a complex rhythm, make this the style most esthetically pleasing to Western ears. In contrast, litany is important in the music of the south, often developing into serial polyphony, similar to the European round. A variation of this form, found in other regions, is the call-and-response style in which a leader is posed against a chorus.

Since no ceremony is complete without music, numerous small troupes of musicians are in demand for official occasions, family celebrations, and religious rites. Perhaps the best known group is the Ny Antsaly Trio (Figure 22), a team of roving troubadours which has received worldwide recognition for its rendition of ancient Malagasy folksongs. This group has enjoyed successful concert tours in Europe and North America. The typical troupe, however, known as the *mpihira-gasy*, or Malagasy singers, consists of about 15 men and women. Their performance begins with a vigorous speech by the leader in "fair barker" style, which may be mocking, patriotic, or melancholy, depending on the occasion. The band then begins full blast, the men playing trumpets, accordions, clarinets, and drums, followed by the chorus who sing while they dance in measured figures, not unlike 18th century European dances. Harmony is highly developed, many songs being sung by young girls whose sharp true voices recall the bitter-sweet songs of women of the eastern Mediterranean region.

FIGURE 22. The Merina Ny Antsaly Trio playing instruments of their own creation; from top to bottom, the *ampongalahy* (drum), the *jejy* (guitarlike stringed instrument), and the *valiha*

The traditional theater, called *mpilado*, combines the major performing arts. With a troupe of some 12 men and women actors, performances are staged at fairs and on other festive occasions. The setting is similar to the theater-in-the-round; the musicians, playing tambourines and flutes, occupy the center of the stage, while the actors move slowly around them, reciting, singing, and dancing. Lasting up to 8 hours, the drama is somewhat like a morality play. Often two troupes will alternate, the applause of the surrounding audience determining the better performance.

The country also supports about 20 theatrical companies which perform modern, Western-style drama. During the colonial period, the theater largely imitated European forms. Although the plays of Racine, Moliere, and other French classical playwrights continue to be presented, the contemporary theater is largely concerned with local issues, such as historical and political situations, the effects of Christian influence, and urban-rural conflict. Social satires are particularly popular, often exploring the relationship between husband and wife or young and old. Most acting troupes are located in Tananarive, but road companies frequently are organized to tour the provinces, especially among the Merina in the highlands. Actors and playwrights, unable to earn a living from the theater, must work at other occupations.

Malagasy literature encompasses proverbs, tales, songs, essays, novels, and especially poetry. In the 19th century, after a written form of the Malagasy language was developed by early English missionaries, the country's rich oral folklore was committed to writing, and the concurrent translation of the Bible has since influenced the prose style of many writers. The language, however, lends itself particularly well to poetry, a form in which many Malagasy have excelled. Indeed, the poet Jean-Joseph Rabearivelo,

who wrote in both French and Malagasy, is considered the father of modern Malagasy literature. Known as one of the greatest French-speaking African poets, Rabearivelo was the son of a poor Merina tailor and a woman of noble caste. Romantic and melancholy by temperament and addicted to drugs, he committed suicide in 1937 at the age of 36. Before his death, Rabearivelo produced seven volumes of poetry, of which the most renowned are *Presque-Songes* (Near Dreams) and *Traduit de la Nuit* (Translated from the Night). Although he was influenced in his early work by the French poet Baudelaire, later poems reflect his Malagasy heritage. Described as "clear and precise visions of a strange and personal world," Rabearivelo's poetry reveals a deeply felt distrust of reality. His themes concern catastrophe, universal death and dissolution, and occasionally resurrection.

Another notable poet is Flavien Ranaivo (b.1914), whose style has been influenced by vernacular songs and ballads. *L'Ombre et le Vent* (The Shadow and the Wind) and *Mes Chansons de Toujours* (My Ageless Songs) are considered his best works. The writings of Jacques Rabemangara, another contemporary poet as well as playwright, are largely concerned with négritude, ancestry, and politics.

Malagasy painting has a history of less than 150 years. Little is known of early Malagasy painting, most of which is derivative of French and English schools. Only in April 1971 was a retrospective survey of painting organized; this exhibit, entitled *Panorama de la Peinture Malagasy*, was housed in the museum in Tananarive.

Madagascar's first exposure to Western painting techniques was provided by a French artist known as Copalle, who was brought to the island by Radama I (1810-28). Few if any works of his students have survived, nor have those of later painters trained in a few schools founded by the London Missionary Society during the reign of Radama II (1861-63). The first notable painter was Ramanankirahina, who was sent to study in Paris by Ranavalona III (1883-96). Upon his return he painted the series of royal portraits now displayed in the Tananarive museum.

During the first half of the 20th century a number of fairly accomplished painters emerged, among whom is the nation's foremost artist, Joseph Ramanankamonjy, the only surviving member of the group. Internationally recognized from his exhibitions in Paris, he is best known for watercolors painted on silk. Until recently, however, most painting was characterized by low technical standards and an academic or romantic style based on a belated provincial extension of 19th century French and English painting. Although still working in a representational format, a number of contemporary artists are endeavoring to develop an original style by employing native pictorial themes and the vivid colors found on the island. Some have studied abroad. Among the better young artists are Coco Rabesahala, Noro-Fine, Victoire Ravelonanosy, and Totolehibe.

Traditional plastic arts are largely a continuation of ancient forms originating in the Philippines, Melanesia, and Polynesia, including Tahiti, developing over time into the distinctive Malagasy styles of today. Much of the art has been inspired by traditional religious ceremonies and practices. Bullock horns, for example, known as *mohara* and used as magical charms, are often adorned with colored beads set in various designs or incised with symbolic figures of zebus and crocodiles. Carved wooden figures, called *marin olo*, are employed in rites for curing illness. These small statues are said to be produced only when the sculptor is in a trance. The Bara are particularly noted for their sculptures of human figures, largely through the skill of a man named Tongamana, born about 1800. His work, stressing detail and realistic action, has its own natural originality, such as inlaid eyes and eyelashes of real hair. Funerary sculpture, found among numerous tribes, represents persons of both sexes. Many of these statues, carved from wood or from wood and stone, have been destroyed by fire or by mutilation as a result of Christian missionary activities.

The most noted carvings, however, are the *aloalo*, or gravemarkers, which are still being produced, especially by the Mahafaly (Figure 14). Similar to totem poles, some consist of a series of geometric designs, perhaps representing the various stages of perfection toward which man aspires, while others are composed of a number of scenes depicting highlights in the life of the deceased. Many *aloalo* are of a patently erotic nature, particularly those of the small Vezo clan on the southwest coast—an indication of the people's traditional preoccupation with fecundity.

In the 19th century, with the introduction of the European saw and rasp, traditional sculpture began to degenerate. This process was hastened by Christian influence with its denial of animist practices, particularly after 1869, when the Merina monarchy adopted Christianity and withheld royal patronage from traditional artisans. Native sculpture today, strongly affected by Western forms and techniques, is largely restricted to articles produced for the tourist trade (Figure 23).

The manual dexterity of the Malagasy, however, is still manifested in handicrafts of high quality found

FIGURE 23. Examples of Western-influenced contemporary sculpture

throughout the island. For example, combining craftsmanship with artistry, the Ampanihy, a small subtribe in the extreme southwest, produce remarkable handwoven carpets using yarn spun by hand (Figure 24). Ranging from those with simple geometric designs to complex symbolic patterns, these roomsize rugs demonstrate the great skill of the women weavers.

FIGURE 24. Women spinning mohair wool preparatory to weaving carpets

Perhaps the most unusual of the traditional handicrafts is an opaque papyrus-like material made from a local shrub and encrusted with colorful local wildflowers along with grasses and leaves. Created by the Antaimoro, using a carefully guarded, secret process, this lovely paper is popular with decorators for lampshades, screens, and wall coverings.

H. Public information

The principal media of mass communications are the press and radio, although neither reaches a majority of the population. Television and motion pictures play a lesser role, with the former restricted to a small audience in the Tananarive area. In traditional fashion, most news is disseminated among the sizable illiterate population by word of mouth; in the highly superstitious, traditional society, moreover, the validity of oral communication is seldom challenged.

Most news is subject to direct or indirect government control. Radio and television are government owned, as is the Malagasy Press Agency (AMP), created in 1962. Under the French the press was forbidden to editorialize about political and administrative matters and, in fact, was required to submit copy to the official press office for approval. With the advent of independence, however, and the promulgation of a constitution guaranteeing freedom of the press, the newspaper industry became largely free of direct government interference. Indeed, a number of journals were noted for vehement criticism of the administration, and even government-owned publications would frequently bring the authorities to task. Libel laws existed but were rarely invoked. In the summer of 1971, however, the government seized a number of influential journals, including *Hehy*, *Imonga Vaovao*, *Lumiere*, and *Realites Malgaches*, for antigovernment reporting of tribal unrest in the south. The crackdown continued during the presidential campaign and on into 1972. In April of that year several French and English publications circulating in the country were also seized for coverage of student demonstrations and civil disorders taking place in the capital. After President Tsiranana's downfall, the situation improved dramatically. The seizures ended, and once more the press became free to publish without fear of government harassment. Because AMP is the major source of news for most publications, however, an indirect form of control remains in effect.

Motion pictures are subject to censorship. A four-member commission, composed of representatives

from government, women's groups, and film distributors, meets weekly to preview films. While the commission's primary aim is to exclude those containing pornography or excessive violence, it also reviews their political content and will ban any film which it believes may encourage civil disorder.

1. Printed matter

Newspapers have been published since the early missionary period, but until independence none approached international journalistic standards or remotely resembled a national publication. Press runs, moreover, averaged only 1,000 copies in 1958, compared with 5,000 in 1972. Despite this substantial increase, the estimated circulation of daily newspapers in 1969 was only about nine per 1,000 population. Such a low figure is a result not only of widespread illiteracy but also of the extreme poverty of the majority of the population. It has been estimated, for example, that most Malagasy would have to allot one-tenth of their annual income to purchase a newspaper on a daily basis. Moreover, all newspapers and periodicals, with the exception of two Catholic weeklies, are published in Tananarive; few have an island-wide circulation or appear in rural areas. A number of cities, including Antsirabe, Majunga, and Tamatave, no longer publish their own papers but rely on air freight for the delivery of publications printed in the capital.

With few exceptions, the nation's publications are highly ephemeral. In any given year numerous newspapers and periodicals come and go without significant notice. During the first 7 months of 1969, for example, 15 new publications appeared, most of which have since ceased to exist.

The quality of reporting is generally poor. Many journals supported by special interest groups engage in polemics rather than straight news reporting. The most improbable rumors are printed without any attempt to verify or disprove them, while accurate and temperate reporting is often sacrificed in favor of catchy slogans, libelous innuendos, and slanted interpretations. Journalistic standards are expected eventually to improve as a result of the creation of the Center for the Training of Information Specialists, attached to the University of Madagascar. In 1967 the first 11 students graduated from the 2-year course of study at the university and an additional year of training in Paris.

At the present time, however, few journalists have either the means or the inclination to cover news events personally. Almost none of the newspapers maintains a network of correspondents throughout the island, although some have letterboxes through which provincial readers are encouraged to contribute. In consequence, local editors rely on news releases from AMP and foreign news agencies, particularly *Agence France-Presse;* official communiques; foreign embassy handouts; materials appearing in the foreign press, especially Paris-based; and monitored radiobroadcasts, both foreign and local.

Most newspapers and periodicals (Figure 25) reflect the views of the two major political parties. During the last year of Tsiranana's presidency, for example, roughly 14 journals were oriented to the policies and ideology of the opposition Congress Party for the Independence of Madagascar (AKFM), while about an equal number favored the PSD, the party of the administration. Pro-AKFM publications espoused a variety of viewpoints, largely Francophobe or Communist; some were leftwing or Protestant-oriented but anti-Communist. One paper printed in Chinese was heavily subsidized by the Republic of China (Taiwan); others were published by church bodies, both Protestant and Catholic, or catered to the interest of such groups as labor, teachers, and youth.

Publications with the largest circulation are generally pro-PSD. Of these, *Madagascar Matin* (Madagascar Morning), formerly *Le Courrier de Madagascar,* has the highest press run and the best journalist standards. Another paper with a substantial circulation is the weekly *Vaovao* (News). Published by the Ministry of Information, it adheres to the official line. *Madagasikara Mahaleotena* (Independent Madagascar) enjoys the largest circulation of any daily in the Malagasy language. Perhaps the most outstanding journal is *Lumiere* (Light), a weekly published by the Jesuit mission of Fianarantsoa. Generally independent and well edited, it presents commentary on both international and domestic affairs. Despite its modest circulation of about 1,000, *Madagascar Presse*, issued daily by AMP, is a particularly influential newssheet, appearing in a mimeographed format averaging 40 pages.

None of the anti-PSD publications is of high quality. *Hehy* (Laughter), the most effective and popular, originated as an AKFM paper, but on the strength of its humorous and biting satire it has become a financially successful independent publication, still strongly opposed to the PSD. The AKFM directly controls two journals, the *Imongo Vaovao* (Mongo News) with a recent circulation of about 1,500 (a decline from 4,000 in 1963) and *Hita Sy Re* (Seen and Heard) with a circulation of approximately 3,000; both follow a radical leftist line, the latter favoring the People's Republic of China.

FIGURE 25. Selected newspapers and periodicals, 1971

TITLE	FREQUENCY	LANGUAGE	PUBLISHER	ESTIMATED CIRCULATION	REMARKS
NY AVOTRA (The Savior)	Weekly	Malagasy	*na*	5,000	Pro-AKFM.
HEHY (Laughter)	*do*	*do*	*Celestin Andriamanatena*	5,500	Popular humor magazine; anti-PSD, Francophobe and leftist but anti-Communist.
LAKROAN I MADAGASIKARA (Cross of Madagascar).	*do*	*do*	Catholic Archdiocese of Fianarantsoa.	8,000	Anti-Communist; owned by *Lumiere* but geared to a wider audience.
LUMIERE (Light)	*do*	French	*do*	5,000	Influential journal aimed at intelligentsia; pro-PSD, anti-Communist.
MADAGASCAR MATIN (Madagascar Morning).	Daily	Malagasy and French.	*Societe de Presse et d'Editions de Madagascar.*	30,250	Influential paper; pro-PSD.
MADAGASIKARA MAHALEOTENA (Independent Madagascar).	*do*	Malagasy	*Imprimerie Centrale*	15,000	Pro-PSD.
NY MARINA (The Truth)	Weekly	*do*	Malagasy Republic	5,000	Official PSD organ.
NY MPIASA MALAGASY (The Malagasy Worker).	Monthly	*do*	Federation of Malagasy Workers.	15,000	Union publication.
REALITES MALGACHES	*do*	French	*Nouvelle Imprimerie des Arts Graphiques.*	10,000	Independent; best privately published [illegible]e.
LA REPUBLIQUE (The Republic).	Weekly	Malagasy	*Industrie Graphique*	8,000	Pro-PSD.
VAOVAO (News)	*do*	*do*	Malagasy Republic	23,500	Official [illegible]gan.

na Data not available.

With the exception of *Ny Avotra* (The Savior), most pro-AKFM publications have circulations in the range of 1,000 to 3,000 copies.

In 1972 there were an estimated 31 printing establishments, including the state-owned National Printing House and those maintained by various denominations; 22 were located in Tananarive. Of 156 publications printed in 1969 (55 books and 101 pamphlets), 103 were in Malagasy, 52 in French, and 1 in English; 25 were textbooks. Books imported from France far outsell those produced domestically.

Library facilities are limited. The National Library in Tananarive has the largest collection, numbering 116,000 volumes in 1968, followed by the library of the University of Madagascar with 75,000 volumes. Modest collections are held by two public and three specialized libraries and by a number of schools.

2. Radio and television

Radio is the principal medium of mass communications, with a listening audience estimated at 4 million in 1972. The number of receivers grew considerably during the 1960's, rising from about 82,000, or 15 per 1,000 inhabitants, in 1960 to over 500,000, or 74 per 1,000 population, in 1970. This sharp increase was largely the result of the introduction of transistors through a government program which would doubtless have been more successful were it not for the traditional reluctance of the Malagasy to embrace new ideas. On a national basis, however, reception is generally inadequate. All broadcasting originates in Tananarive, and because of a limited number of relay stations and other technical difficulties, good reception is possible only in the area surrounding the capital. In the western region, for example, broadcasts from Mozambique and South Africa are clearer than those from Tananarive.

Radio Television Malagasy, the government broadcasting company, operates a domestic and an international radio service. The former transmits daily from 7 to 16½ hours in both Malagasy and French, while the latter, *Radio Madagascar*, broadcasts daily for 1 hour in French and English, its transmissions beamed to Europe and Africa. In addition, *Radio Universite*, located at the University of Madagascar, broadcasts educational programs for the domestic service for about 5 to 7 hours daily. All programing is controlled by the Ministry of Information. There are over 100 reporters, announcers, and technicians on the staff of the ministry's Radio and Television Service, whose efforts are generally considered more enterprising and dynamic than those in most other African states.

In May 1972 a major radio relay complex was dedicated. Constructed on a site near Tananarive by *Radio Nederland* at a cost of approximately US$5.5 million, the new installation is designed to provide good reception within a radius of 6,000 miles. Broadcasts will be relayed initially in a number of languages, including Dutch, French, English, Arabic, and Indonesian; eventually Malagasy will be added. In no more than 30 years the complex is to be turned over to the Malagasy Government.

In mid-1966 the government initiated television broadcasting on an experimental basis. Although a French company was originally granted exclusive rights to operate the service, the government broke its contract with the French and assumed control of production the following year. Regular telecasts began in December 1967. In early 1973 an estimated 5,000 receivers were in use, half of which belonged to foreigners. A single channel transmits for 3 hours a day, Tuesday through Sunday, reaching only Tananarive and environs. Most telecasts are in French, but the use of Malagasy is increasing. Programing consists largely of news reports and entertainment, the latter including French films and productions by theater groups, such as the *Comedie Francaise*. Educational programs are less popular; in fact, viewers occasionally have complained that they are designed for an elitist, university-educated audience and lack popular appeal. Programs provided by the U.S. Information Service also are presented.

3. Motion pictures

In 1969, cities and towns supported 45 motion picture theaters with a total seating capacity of 16,700, or 2.5 seats per 1,000 inhabitants, while an additional 10 mobile units served rural areas. Total theater attendance was approximately 4.5 million. The films shown consist mainly of "class B" thrillers imported from France, although the mobile units usually provide educational features.

The country's first commercially made motion picture, *The Accident*, was produced in late 1972. Concerned with social criticism, the half-hour, low-budget film produced by Benoit Ramampy represented the first all-Malagasy effort to create an indigenous film industry.

I. Suggestions for further reading

Costa, E. "Employment Problems and Policies in Madagascar," *International Labour Review*, vol. 97, no. 3, pp. 217-50, 1968. A discussion of employment and underemployment problems and the effects of regional disparities and urbanization.

Delval, Raymond. "Les Musulmans en Madagascar," *Revue de Madagascar*, no. 37, pp. 5-32, 1967. A description of Malagasy and other Muslims inhabiting the island with particular attention to the traditional lack of fervor among the native religionists.

Donque, Gerald. "Les Peuples de Madagascar," *Revue Francaise d'Etudes Politiques Africaines*, no. 40, pp. 32-46, 1969. A description of Malagasy tribal groups and their demographic characteristics.

———. "Tananarive," *Revue Francaise d'Etudes Politiques Africaines*, no. 67, pp. 29-39, 1971. A study of the urban problems of Madagascar's rapidly growing capital city.

Dyen, Isidore. "Linguistic Similarities Between Malagasy and Indonesian Languages." Paper presented to the African Studies Association, Los Angeles, October 1968. A comprehensive study of the Austronesian origins of the Malagasy language.

Heseltine, Nigel. *Madagascar*. New York: Praeger. 1971. A well-written account of the history, society, politics, and economy of the country authored by an English Africanist who in 1968 was appointed an economic adviser to President Tsiranana.

[illegible]pierre, Jean-William. "Problemes Socials et Culturels du Peuple Malgache," *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, vol. 40, pp. 57-72, 1966. A discussion of the problems of bilingualism as it relates to education, of interethnic relations, [illegible] of the contradiction between cultural nationalism and technical-economic modernism.

Marden, Luis. "Madagascar: Island at the End of the Earth," *National Geographic*, vol. 132, no. 4, pp. 443-93, 1967. A superficial but very readable article on the island, richly illustrated.

McLeod, Norma. "The Stylistic Characteristics of the Music of Madagascar." Paper presented to the African Studies Association, Los Angeles, October 1968. An excellent and exhaustive study of the numerous foreign influences on and the stylistic differences in Malagasy music.

Michel, Louis. *La Religion des Anciens Merina*. Aix-en-Province: La Pensee Universitaire. 1958. Study of the traditional Merina religion, from its origins to present-day Christian influences.

Murdock, George Peter. "Malagasy." *In Africa: Its Peoples and Their Culture History*. New York: McGraw-Hill. 1959. An excellent account of the origins, language, and social aspects of the Malagasy.

Poitier, J. "Recensement de Population, Urbanisation au Madagascar," *Civilisations*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 80-109, 1968. Article on the ethnic composition and growth of Malagasy cities.

Ramandraivonona, Denis. *Le Malgache: Sa Langue, Sa Religion*. Paris: Presence Africaine. 1959. Learned work on origins of the Malagasy language and of traditional religion.

Randriamandimby, Josette. "La Peinture Malgache," *Bulletin de Madagascar*, no. 310, pp. 278-88, 1972. A short but comprehensive survey of Malagasy painting.

Thiout, Michel. *Madagascar et l'Ame Malgache*. Paris: Horizons de France. 1961. Describes ethnic groups and their origins, as well as customs, traditional rites, flora, and fauna. Excellent photographs.

Urbain-Faublee, Marcelle. *L'Art Malgache*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1963. An excellent survey of traditional sculpture and applied art, although poorly illustrated.

Glossary

Abbreviation	French or Malagasy	English
AKFM	*Ankoton'ny Kongresi'ny Fahaleovantenan'i Madagasikara*	Congress Party for Independence of Madagascar
AMP	*Agence Malgache de Presse*	Malagasy Press Agency
CCSM	*Confederation Chretienne des Syndicats Malgaches*	Christian Confederation of Malagasy Trade Unions
FISEMA	*Firaisana Sendikaly Malagasy*	Malagasy Trade Union Federation
FMM	*Fivondronamben'ny Mpiasa Malagasy*	Malagasy Workers Federation
INSRE	*Institut National de la Statistique et de la Recherche Economique*	National Institute of Statistics and Economic Research
PSD	*Parti Social Democrate*	Social Democratic Party
USAM	*Union des Syndicats Autonomes de Madagascar*	Association of Autonomous Trade Unions of Madagascar